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ABSTRACT

This volume is devoted to papers on an empirical or theoretical nature contributing to the study of language and communicative behavior in the Philippines. Articles included are: (1) "The Phonemic Consequences of Two Morphophonemic Rules in Molbog," by H. Arnold Thiessen; (2) "A Look at a Northern Kankanay Text (a syntactic analysis)," by Judy Wallace; (3) "Writing a Nontechnical Grammar of Mangga Buang (an easy to understand analysis of the Papua New Guinean Language)," by Joan Healey; (4) "What is Tagmemics? (Continued) (a brief outline of basic cutlock and constructs)," by David Thomas; (5) "Subject/Topic Terminology and Vectors (an attempt to clarify the universal components that enter into subject/topic-like entities)," by David Thomas; (6) "Coconut Cultivation among the Yakan," by Dietlinde Behrens; (7) "Cebuano Verb Morphology, an Application of Case Grammar," by Casilda E. Luzares; (8) "Fact and Fiction in Isneg Narrative Discourse," by Rodolfo R. Barlaan; (9) "Discourse Analysis of a Southern Samal Text: Abunawas and the Beautiful Widow," by Joe Allison; (10) "Focus Ranking in Ttoli Discourse (identification of influential factors on the choice of focused items in Ttoli clauses)," by Doris Porter and Austin Hale; (11) "Physical, Temporal and Cognitive Location in Keley-i Demonstratives," by Dick Hohulin and Austin Hale; (12) "Notes on Keley-i Relational Grammar-I," by Lou Hohulin and Austin Hale; (13) "The Phonemes of Sarangani Sangire," by Kenneth R. Maryett; and (14) "Reduplication and Cyclical Rule Ordering in Kankanaey Morphophonemics," by Lawrence P. Allen. (NCR)

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Studies in Philippine Linguistics is a joint venture undertaken by the Linguistic Society of the Philippines and the Summer Institute of Linguistics devoted to the timely publication of papers of an empirical or theoretical nature which contribute to the study of language and communicative behavior in the Philippines. There will be two regular numbers a year supplemented by occasional special numbers as the volume of suitable papers submitted may warrant. A certain proportion of the papers published will be penultimate versions of works of special interest to the Philippine linguistic community destined for further publication in more final form elsewhere.

Deadlines for receipt of manuscripts for the first number of each year will be the first Friday in April and the deadline for receipt of manuscripts for the second number will be the first Friday in October. Linguists engaged in the study and description of Philippine languages are hereby invited to submit contributions for inclusion in this series.

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THE PHONEMIC CONSEQUENCES OF TWO MORPHOPHONEMIC RULES IN MOLBOG¹

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0. Introduction

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IV. Conclusion

0. Introduction

The main questions in Molbog² phonology concern the interpretation of: (1) clusters of two or more vocoids, at least one of which is ambiguous in regard to its status as a vowel, as a consonant, or as part of a complex vowel nucleus or complex consonant margin; (2) long consonants; (3) long vowels; (4) glottal stop; (5) the alveo palatal affricate dʒ; (6) syllabic n; (7) palatalized consonants³. Several different phonological analyses of the data are possible, and the outcome seems to depend on how much weight is given to the various principles of interpretation. Section I highlights the degree to which phonemic considerations

provide solutions to these problems. Sections II and III highlight problems that elude phonemic solution until advantage is taken of certain kinds of morphophonemic evidence.

I. What phonemics solved and what it did not

A. With regard to syllables:

1. The unambiguous syllable patterns of Molbog are:

CV: ko 'you' pí.da 'how much'

CVC: sin 'money' tán.duk 'horn'

Unambiguous clusters of two consonants occur only between vowels, across a syllable boundary, tán.tu 'true'. There are no unambiguous vowel clusters.

Where a single consonant occurs intervocalically, it is the onset of the second syllable, V.CV po.má.san 'request', sí.got 'tie', si.go.tán 'tie to something'.

Based on these syllable patterns it is possible to interpret length in consonants in the following way. All consonants, with the exception of ' and j, occur in the data with length in contrast with their normal counterpart, ábu 'ash' and áb:u 'vanity', bo.sa.án 'to wet' and bos:a.án 'to read'. Since there are unambiguous consonant clusters between vowels across syllable boundary, the long consonants are interpreted as geminate consonants, the first of which is the coda of the first syllable, and the second is the onset of the second syllable, bos.sa.án 'to read', áb.bu 'vanity'.

2. The ambiguous syllable patterns of Molbog are:

CSV(C); ⁴	bíag 'live'	luás 'outside'
	dió 'there'	buá.ia 'crocodile'
CVS(C):	no.dzáip 'surprised'	tóum 'year'
	mokuít 'long time'	toi.tú 'small'
(')V(C):	(See Section I.C. for examples and discussion.)	
qCVC:	qđá 'none'	qđí 'not'

With the patterns CSV(C) and CVS(C) the question is whether the semi-vowels should be interpreted as consonants or vowels. With the pattern (')V(C) the question is whether the glottal stop should be regarded as phonemic or not, since in certain environments it varies freely with

its absence, and in other environments its occurrence seems predictable. There is however, contrast with single normal length vowels: sa'á.ton 'paint something' and so.sá.ton 'disturb', su'úng 'bolo handle' and sung 'you go first'.

There are only two items in the data in which the syllable pattern pCVC occurs, (where p is syllabic): ndá 'none', ndí 'not'. An unstressed high fronted vowel may occur before the n, as índá or índá 'none'. In the unambiguous data, consonant clusters do not occur except across a syllable boundary, and consonants do not occur as syllable peak. So it would be better not to interpret this syllabic nasal as /n/, a single consonant. The alternatives are to interpret it as V + C, */ín.da'/, the present disadvantage being that there is no unambiguous precedent for VC syllables, or it could be interpreted as C + V + C, */'ín.da'/ if the above irregularly occurring glottal stop is considered to be a phonemic segment.

B. With regard to vowels:

1. The unambiguous vowels of Molbog are i, a, u, o.⁶ In all cases where these are syllabic and occur in clearly nuclear position between unambiguous consonants or between a consonant and word break, namely C #, # C, they are regarded as vowels. a and o are regarded as vowels in all environments.

2. The ambiguous vocoids of Molbog are the semivowels, i and u, and long vowels.

a. In certain environments i, and u are called semivowels because, though they are vocoids in that they involve no closure, friction, or contact of tongue or lips, they occur contiguous to a nuclear vowel in relation to which they are less sonorous, less syllabic, or less stressed.

Those that occur intervocalically could be interpreted as consonants by analogy to other unambiguous consonants occurring intervocalically, thus conforming to the unambiguous syllable pattern CV(C). For example, dá.ia /da.ya/ 'inland', o.sá.ua /o.sa.wa/ 'spouse'.

Those that occur between a vowel and word break could also be interpreted as consonants, also conforming to the syllable pattern CV(C). For example, iá.hi /ya.hi/ 'to me', sá.iou /sa.yow/ 'dance'. Still there is only pattern pressure and their phonetically inferior degree of syllabicity when compared to contiguous vowels that supports this interpretation. It might alternatively be possible to eliminate /y, w/ altogether if sequences of vowels are permitted.

The remaining ambiguous semivowels are those that occur between a vowel and a consonant, namely V C and C V. For example, siám 'nine', tóun 'year', toi.tú 'small', tong.uán 'tusked animal', bó.nua 'house';

and those in which two high vocoids occur contiguous to one another between consonants and between a consonant and word break, mo.kuít 'long time', mo.ríu 'noisy'.

Of these, certain types could possibly be interpreted as consonants to conform to the unambiguous syllable patterns CV and CVC:

CVS.CV(C): toi.tú --> */toy.tu/ 'small'

CVC.SV(C): tong.uán --> */tong.wan/ 'tusked animal'

bó.nua --> */bon.wa/ 'house'

In this interpretation, pattern congruity would be given heavy weight. The actual phonetic form would not be in focus. In fact, many of the words that fit this pattern vary in their phonetic form as to.nguán which alternates with tong.uán 'tusked animal', and bó.nua which alternates with boń.ua 'house'. Others usually, though not always, have the phonetic syllable break before the consonant preceding the semivowel as, li.buát 'top', while others usually after the consonant preceding the semivowel, dún.ia 'world', bón.uit 'fishhook'.

Other types remain ambiguous:

(a) CSCV: siám 'nine' luás 'outside'

(b) CVSC: tóun 'year' song.kóit 'a little'

(c) CSS(C): mo.kuít 'long time'

ko.bíu 'dented' sí.kui 'watermelon'

If it could be decided that because these semivowels are less syllabic, therefore they are not nuclear, and hence not vowels but rather consonants, it would be settled. Less syllabic i and u could in all cases be interpreted as /y, w/. The objections to doing are: (1) It would result in a number of additional syllable patterns CCVC, CCV, CVCC, none of which has a nonsuspect precedent.

siám --> */syam/ would be CCVC

rúm.pia --> */rum.pya/ would be CVC.CCV

tóun --> */town/ would be CVCC

Economy of syllable patterns thus weighs against this interpretation. (2) Definitions of syllable, of vowel, and of consonant appear to be flexible enough to allow nonsyllabic vowels, and syllabic consonants. A vowel may be short, or normal, or long. A nucleus or a margin may be either simple or complex. A syllable may be defined by a single peak of sonority, or by a unit of vowel length, or by a unit of vowel quality, or by potential for receiving stress placement.

Taking the phonetic data of Molbog, these semivowels do not represent a peak of sonority in relation to the contiguous nuclear vowel, but they are more sonorous than the contiguous consonant.⁷ So whether or not they are a peak of sonority is relative.

They do not represent a normal unit of vowel length, but are short. For example, in siám 'nine' the i is less sonorous than the a but more sonorous than s, and i is perceived as shorter than a. The timing of siám is closer to that of monosyllabic sin 'money' than to bi-syllabic sí.dung 'space under the house'.⁸

They do represent a unit of vowel quality, so could be regarded as syllabic nuclei.

They never receive primary stress so they do not have potential for stress placement, which could suggest that they are not separate syllable nuclei.⁹

They might be regarded as being in close association with either the contiguous vowel, or the contiguous consonant.

So, phonetically, these semivowels are ambiguous as to whether they should be interpreted as vowels or as consonants, and they could be interpreted as vowels or as consonants, and they could be interpreted as units, or as members of complex nuclei or complex margins. Following are three examples illustrating possible interpretations.

<u>siám</u>	→	*/si.am/	as vowel	<u>tóun</u>	→	*/to.un/	
		*/syam/	as consonant			*/town/	
		*/siam/	as part of a complex nucleus			*/toun/	
		*/s ^y am/	as part of a complex margin			*/to ^w n/	?
{ <u>sí.kui</u> <u>sík.ui</u>	→	*/si.ku.i/	<u>u</u> and <u>i</u> as vowels				
		*/sik.wi/	<u>u</u> as consonant, <u>i</u> as vowel				
		*/si.kuy/	<u>u</u> as vowel, <u>i</u> as consonant				
		*/si.kui/	as complex nucleus				
		*/si.k ^w i/	<u>u</u> as part of a complex margin				

Interpretation will depend on how syllable, and vowel, and consonant are defined; how much weight is given to congruity of syllable patterns; and also to economy of phonemes; and to economy in description of morphophonemic changes.¹⁰

C. With regard to consonants:

2. Problems of interpretation concern glottal stop in some environments, the phonetic sequence dʒ, possible palatalized consonants, more particularly ni, and y and w which are discussed above in connection with semivowels.

(2) In cases where a root is prefixed, or occurs medially in a larger phrase, the glottal stop tends not to occur in the following environments.

After a C final prefix: mog- $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{'ám.bur} \\ \text{ám.bur} \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \text{mo.gám.bur}$ 'to fish with
a hook'

In reduplication: $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{'á.nak} \\ \text{a.nak} \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{matrix} \text{'a.na.ká.nak} \\ \text{a.na.ká.nak} \end{matrix}$ 'small child'

og-i- $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{'i.pát} \\ \text{i.pát} \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \text{o.gi:.pát}$ 'tending'

In a phrase: tio $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{'á.ku} \\ \text{á.ku} \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \text{tiá:..ku}$ 'here I am'

By contrast, no other consonants in the same initial position are ever dropped: mo-dó.lok $\rightarrow$ mo.dó.lok 'rainy', mog-gó.sod $\rightarrow$ mog:ó.sod $\rightarrow$ mog.gó.sod 'to fence'.

(3) Glottal stop does not occur with length across a word boundary, as would be expected if word initial glottal were phonemic in the same way other consonants are:

mo.bá.sa_ + $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{'á.ku} \\ \text{á.ku} \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \text{mo.bá.sa_á.ku}$ 'I am wet'

but 'á.nak + ku $\rightarrow$ 'á.nak.ku 'my child'

If evidence could be found in support of V and VC syllables, it would seem better to regard this morpheme initial glottal as nonphonemic.

The second environment in which the interpretation of glottal stop is problematic is in the morpheme medial position between unlike vowels. In this position glottal stop occurs regularly in some words, and is regularly absent in others:

dó'un 'leaf' contrasts with tóun 'year'

ló'in 'else' contrasts with song.kóit 'a little'

In this environment the presence or absence of glottal stop is unambiguously contrastive.¹⁴ Where glottal stop occurs it fills a consonant position and the syllables conform to the unambiguous patterns CV.CV(C). Where glottal stop does not occur the pattern is ambiguous, CSV(C) or CVS(C).

Between like vowels within a morpheme, glottal stop usually occurs, but it is not contrastive with its absence in this position, in words such as pa.á 'thigh', íni'i 'this', mo.do.ót 'bad', mo.tu.úg 'dry'. Should this glottal stop be regarded as a phonemic segment or not? Possibly yes, because it regularly occurs, and because where glottal stop occurs between unlike vowels within a morpheme, it is regarded as a phonemic segment.

The third position in which the interpretation of glottal stop present problems is in suffixes that attach directly to roots. These suffixes sometimes take the form, -VC, and sometimes the form, -'VC. Roots ending in a are always followed by the -'VC form of these suffixes:

gúm.da-an → gun.da.'án 'to cook something'

kán.ta-a' → kon.ta.'á' 'sing' (imperative)

Roots ending in i or u are nearly always followed by the suffix without the intervening ʔ yielding the ambiguous pattern CSṾC:

ko-bú.ri-an → ko.bu.rián 'place of buri palms'

ko-tó.lu-an → ko.to.luán 'third'

Roots ending in a', however, always retain the ʔ before the suffix, but the resultant form has a short glottal stop, not a long one, as one might have expected from the sequence a' + 'VC.

bá.sa'-an → bo.sa.'án 'to wet'

sí.pa'-a' → si.pa.'á' 'kick' (imperative)

Roots ending in i' or u' tend to retain the glottal before the suffix. That the glottal stop sometimes does not occur, is attributable to factors such as rate of speech, or lack of careful enunciation:

tá.hi'-on → to.hi.'ón 'sew'

ko-tú.ru'-an → ko.tu.ru.'án 'seventh'

bád.zu'-ay → bod.zu.'áy 'put shirt on' (imperative)

Roots ending in o and o' do not appear to take suffixes.

It might still be possible to postulate the presence of glottal stop in the underlying form of the suffix, the advantage being that it would eliminate vowel clusters in these environments, allowing all the syllables to conform to the unambiguous CV and CVC patterns. However, the following considerations suggest an alternative analysis that appears to be preferable if VC syllables are allowed.

Roots ending in V', when suffixed, never have lengthened glottal stop as might be expected to occur if ʔ were also part of the suffix: tá.hi'-on ↗ * /to.hi'.ʔon/ 'sew'. Furthermore, roots ending in VC, when suffixed never have glottal stop between the stem and the suffix: sí.go-tan → si.go.tán 'tie to something'. So the form of these suffixes is -VC in all cases except when preceded by root final a. This latter situation where glottal stop occurs between like vowels is comparable to that in morpheme medial position where glottal stop also occurs between like vowels, and is noncontrastive. The evidence is not entirely conclusive but the fact that glottal stop does occur between like vowels seems to weigh in favor of regarding it as a phonemic segment.

However, between unlike vowels between a root and its suffix where there is no glottal stop as part of the root, glottal stop does not occur, and on this basis is better regarded as nonphonemic. This results in ambiguous sequences CVVC in which the first vowel is a high vowel, but it is often just as syllabic as the following low vowel.

b. The alveopalatal affricate dʒ occurs both morpheme initial and medial.

Morpheme initial: dʒin 'spirit', dʒa 'deep-fried rice delicacy'

Morpheme medial: hād.ʒat 'purpose', pān.dʒi 'flag'

The nonambiguous data supports only one consonant in initial position, and a cluster of no more than two consonants in intervocalic position. Consequently, the preferred interpretation of dʒ is not as a sequence of two consonants, either */dz/ or */dy/.¹⁵

dʒ cannot be interpreted as an allophone of /d/ because they contrast:

dʒū.nui 'there' contrasts with dū.nia 'world'

pān.dʒi 'flag' contrasts with pān.di 'I wonder'

To avoid interpreting dʒ as a unit phoneme /j/, and so adding one to the phonemic inventory, it has been suggested that dʒ might be regarded as: */di/. This proves unsatisfactory because ʒ and i contrast after d.

dʒa 'deep-fried rice delicacy' versus diō 'there (far)'

gād.ʒa 'elephant' versus gou.go.diā 'saw' (imperative)

It might still be possible to interpret dʒ as */di/ and di before a vowel as */diy/ and so retain the phonemic distinction between the two. This is not satisfactory because if di is interpreted as */diy/, it is for the purpose of solving the problem of vowel clusters as in diō → */di.yo/. But if dʒ → */di/, then dʒa → */dia/ which returns us to the problem of vowel clusters. Furthermore, in the case of words like pān.dʒi → */pan.dii/ such an interpretation also introduces sequences of like vowels which do not otherwise occur morpheme medially except with an intervening glottal stop.

Alternatively, dʒ might be regarded as */diy/. This is also not helpful because it is done to avoid vowel clusters, as above, but it results in dʒ → */diy/, and di → */diy/ before a vowel. There is then no way to produce the correct phonetic forms, which are contrastive, from the phonemic representation:

*/di.ya/ → *dia and dʒa 'rice delicacy'

*/di.yo/ → dio and *džo 'there (far)'

This interpretation would also result in forms such as džin → */di.yin/, pán.dži → */pan.di.yi'/, which are rather unlike the phonetics. The fact that this interpretation results in an extra phonemic syllable will later prove relevant.

In intervocalic position the occurrence of dž raises a further question. Because dž is a compound of two phones, phonetically one part of the compound closes the preceding syllable and the second part is the onset of the following syllable, so it has a greater phonetic length than the normal unit phoneme, but no more than two normal units of length: hád.žat 'need', bód.žu 'storm'. Because of this apparent length this compound might be regarded as d:ž = d.dž → */d.jj/¹⁶ or possibly as dž.dž → */j.jj/¹⁷ though phonetically it would not seem to be like dž.dž rearticulated, which would be the phonetic description of the phonemic representation /j.jj/. Other consonants have extra length, equivalent to two units, in contrast with normal length in intervocalic position. These are interpreted as geminate consonants and compare in length with the compound d.ž which does not have contrastive length.

In any case, intervocalic d.ž does not pattern like other consonants. If it is interpreted as */j.jj/ then it is unlike other consonants in that it has no normal length (nongeminate) representation in intervocalic position. Also, /j/ would then occur as syllable coda which it does not in any other unambiguous data.

If it is interpreted as */d.jj/ then /j/ does not occur in intervocalic position, and it would be the only consonant before which /d/ occurs within words (except in geminate /d.d/ and in reduplicated stems like pód.pod 'tip').

If it is interpreted as /j/ then it is like /'/ in that it does not occur in geminate clusters, and is unlike the other consonants that do. In this case, the phonemic syllable pattern will not be the same as the phonetic pattern: hád.žat → /ha.jat/ 'purpose', so the preceding syllable will be open, but /j/ will occur in the phonemic representation as its constituent units do in the phonetic, in intervocalic position.

It would seem best then to interpret dž in all environments as /j/.

c. Palatalized consonants.¹⁸ Looking at Molbog syllables in general, it might be possible to regard certain sequences involving consonants and a contiguous semivowel as palatalized and labialized consonants: niúg → */nʲug/ 'coconut', puás → */pʷas/ 'finished up'. In most of these cases, the palatalization or labialization does not begin until after the release of the initial consonant, and an interpretation avoiding whole sets of palatalized and labialized consonants is found preferable. There are, however, several words in which the onset of palatalization is virtually simultaneously with the onset of the consonant n; n^íá.ua 'soul', n^íá.ngan 'don't'. Phonetically

these are slightly different from example such as niüg 'coconut'. On the other hand, they are much the same in that they are all instances of n + i preceding a vowel, and the i is less syllabic than the vowel it precedes. This does not appear to make a strong case for interpreting n + i in these few instances above as */n̄/ in contrast with the other n + i preceding a vowel.

There is good reason for not regarding most occurrences of n + i preceding a vowel as a unit phoneme */n̄/ as opposed to other consonants that occur in the same environment which are regarded as a sequence C + i. If all occurrences of n + i preceding a vowel are interpreted as */n̄/, then */n̄/ would not occur before /i/ at all, and /n/ would not occur before /i/ preceding another vowel. The very restricted distribution of */n̄/ would exactly match the restriction in distribution then imposed on /n/. In other words, the distribution of */n̄/ plus /n/ would be the same as the distribution of any one other consonant. So it would be better to interpret all occurrences of n + i preceding a vowel as /n/ + i, which eliminates */n̄/ from the inventory of phonemes and does not restrict the distribution of /n/.

D. With regard to stress.

In simple and compound words there is no distinctive feature of stress in Molbog. Some words have primary stress on the ultimate syllable, some on the penultimate. Some are perceived as stressed at one time on the ultimate syllable, then again on the penultimate, depending on the speaker's higher level intonation. Position of stress is not the same for all words so it is not predictable. However, no pair of words that differ in meaning and that differ phonologically only with respect to the position of stress within the word. Consequently stress is not regarded as phonemic.

E. Residue.

There are some phones and patterns of phones that occur in unassimilated loan words. For example e occurs in words such as ré.lus 'clock' which alternates lé.rus 'clock', plen 'plane'; ɛ occurs in dɛt 'jet'; consonant clusters occur as in trak 'truck', dr̩am 'drum' which alternates with do.rum 'drum or barrel', maɪs.tru 'school teacher'. These are considered to be outside the phonemic system of Molbog.

II. The two morphophonemic rules

In trying to decide which is the best interpretation of the data, possible ways of defining syllable were examined. The vowel shifts of a ↔ o, and the occurrence of a in only the last two syllables (tentatively so-called) of a word, came into focus as possibly offering some clues. Following is a statement of two morphophonemic rules and how they may be applied in interpreting the phonological data.

A. Rule 9e: a → o in all syllables except the last two syllables of a word.¹⁹

In morphemes of more than two syllables a never occurs preceding the penultimate syllable:²⁰

o.ní.nu 'shadow'

o.ní.bung 'anibong'

to.lí.nga 'ear'

Prefixes do not contain a.

If a morpheme is suffixed so that a of the root occurs in a syllable preceding the penultimate syllable of the resulting word, then a → o.

1. Exceptions.

a. Some names and terms, especially of Muslim origin:

i. personal names

male: Ab.dul.káni which alternates with Ab.du.ka.ni

Ham.já.tal

Ha.bi.búd.din

female: Ka.mi.lín.da

Pa.kí.na

ii. place names

ku.ta.bá.tu 'Cotabato'

sam.buáng.ga 'Zamboanga'

a.rá.bia 'Arabia'

But other place names follow the rule:

mo.ní.la' 'Manila' po.lá'.wan 'Palawan'

bo.lá.bak 'Balabac'

iii. times

ar.bá.'a 'Wednesday' dful.ka.'íd.da 'November'

ai.sa alternates with oi.sa 'just after dusk'

iv. Muslim greeting

ma.sa.lám ma.la.'i.kúm

reply: ma.la.'i.kúm a.sa.lám

b. Unassimilated loan words

ka.lin.dǎ.riu 'calendar' a.pi.lf.du 'sur-name'

mǎis.tru 'school teacher' tuǎ.lia 'towel'

c. Reduplication of roots

pa.ga-pǎ.ga 'type of grass' tom.po.la-po.lǎ 'butterfly'

o.pog.pa.rak-pǎ.rak 'separating'

In these exceptions an underlying /a/ remains /a/ even in syllables other than the last two syllables of a word.

2. Illustrations of words that undergo only Rule One:

a. Reduplication of the initial CV of a root:

og-ta-tǎ'.lib → og.to.tǎ'.lib 'passing'

og-da-dǎ.tong → og.do.dǎ.tong 'arriving'

b. Roots that are suffixed:

bǎis-on → bo.i.són 'express affection'

i.po-kǎub-a' → i.po.ko.u.bǎ' 'put up against'

gǎ.ta'-an → go.ta.'án 'to cook in juice'

tǎ.bang-on → to.bǎ.ngon 'give help'

ǎ.sin-an → o.si.nǎn 'to salt something'

B. Rule Two: o → a where /o/ is separated from /a/ only by an intervening // or /h/, and/or by a word or morpheme boundary.

1. Exceptions: No exceptions to this rule have been found to date, except that in slow speech, if o follows a across word boundaries, o sometimes does not go to a: pida#horga 'how much', ogaya#otian 'large exposed reef', and so forth remain o in slow speech.

2. Examples of items that undergo only Rule Two:

/a#_ or /a#'_	mopia#(')oddow	→	mopia#addcw	'nice day'
/a#'_	anak#na'#opat	→	anak#na'#apat	'four children'
/a#h_	pida#horga	→	pida#harga	'how much'
/_a or /_-'a	mo-(')andom	→	ma-andom	'cloudy'
/_ha	ipo-hamut	→	ipa-hamut	'make fragrant'
/_#a or /_#-'a	tio#(')aku	→	tia#aku	'here I am'
/_-'#a or /_-'#-'a	moko#(')asin	→	moka#asin	'and salt'
/_#ha	anu#no#ha'ku	→	anu#na#ha'ku	'what on earth'
/a#h_	isi'on#ina#na'#hombilug	→	isi'on#ina#na'#hambilug	'get that one'

3. Examples of items that require the application of both rules:

Underlying	Rule One a → o	Rule Two o → a	
ko-laga-on	ko-loga-on	ko-loga-'an	'breadth'
og-lahak-on	og-lohak-on	og-lahak-on	'thirsting'
da-da'ak-on	dodo'ak-on	doda'ak-on	'messenger'
ba'al-on	bo'al-on	ba'al-on	'to make something'
bahagi'	bohagi'	bahagi'	'share'
ba'asa	bo'asa	ba'asa	'habit'

There is no evidence at present as to whether the underlying form in the first syllable in words like these last five examples is /a/ or /o/. Further, the second syllable of two syllable roots like ba'al and lahak could contain /o/ if the first contains /a/. The second syllable of the other two words must contain /a/ or the first syllable would be /o/ (*bahogi' would go to *bohogi').

So, underlying ba'al could be */ba'al/, */bo'al/ or */ba'ol/.

Underlying bahagi' could be */bahagi'/ or */bohagi'/.

Underlying ba'asa could be */ba'asa/ or */bo'asa/.

For now we will assume that the phonetic form of the root in isolation is its underlying representation.

III. How the rules provide evidence for interpretation

A. Instances in which /y, w/ are favored over /i, u/, based on the occurrence of a only in the last two syllables of a word:

V.CVS: pá.nou → /pa.now/ 'walk', because when the root is suffixed
a → o, pá.nou-on → /po.no.won/ 'walk'.

sá.koi → /sa.koy/ 'ride', because when the root is suffixed
a → o, sá.koi-an → /so.ko.ya/ 'vehicle'.

V.SV(C): má.ua' → /ma.wa'/ 'remove', because when the root is
suffixed a → o, á.ua'-an → /o.wa.'an/ 'remove'.

bá.ia' → /ba.ya'/ 'track', because when the root is suffixed
a → o, bá.ia'-an → /bo.ya.'an/ 'way'.

V'.SVC: tá'.uis → /ta'.wis/ 'point'

ling.gá'.iung → /ling.ga'.yung/ 'rooster tail'

So /y/ and /w/ need to be included as phonemic segments.

B. Instances in which /i, u/ are favored over /y, w/, based on a
→ o only in syllables preceding the penultimate syllable of a word:

1. in morpheme medial position:

báis-on → /bo.i.son/ 'show affection'

káub-ay → /ko.u.bay/ 'swat' (imperative)

2. across morpheme boundaries:

ko-lá.mi-an → /ko.lo.mi.an/ 'happiness'

tá.ngu-an → /to.ngu.an/ 'tusked animal'

C. Evidence for V and VC as syllable patterns:

In B. above, sequences of two vocoids, one of which is ambiguous, are interpreted as two vowels, one in each of two syllables. This results in syllable patterns CV.VC, and in the suffixed form, CV.V.CVC. The first two examples in B. illustrate the vowel clusters in morpheme medial position. In this position there is no good alternative interpretation. Interpreting the two vowels as a complex nucleus is not possible because, in view of Rule One, they constitute separate syllables.²¹

Interpreting the semi-vowels as a consonant is rejected because Rule One indicates that it is the nucleus of a syllable. If it were a consonant the preceding a would not change to o because the a would still be in the penultimate syllable: *bays-on would not change to *boy.son. This interpretation would also result in unsupportable syllable patterns CVCC, CCV, CCVC.

It might be suggested that the semivowels be interpreted as a vowel plus semivowel, the semivowel occurring between the high vowel and the contiguous low vowel:

- siám → */si.yam/ 'nine'
 luás → */lu.was/ 'outside'
 báis → */ba.yis/ 'affection'
 káub → */ka.wub/ 'up against'

But this does not represent the phonetics at all, as it describes the semivowel which is less sonorous, never stressed, and shorter than the other contiguous nuclear vowel, as both a full nuclear vowel plus a consonant margin. The /y, w/ margins do not occur in the phonetics so would represent a zero allomorph of /y, w/. If there is a good alternative, this would not be the interpretation of choice.

Earlier it was noted that in Molbog there are ambiguous clusters of vocoids, but no unambiguous clusters. Recalling Rule Two: o → a where /o/ is separated from /a/ only by an intervening /' / or /h/, and/or by word or morpheme boundary, it becomes apparent that the reason why there are no unambiguous vowel clusters is not because vowel clusters really don't occur and what appear to be vowel clusters are really something else, but rather it is because a phonological process prevents the only two unambiguous vowels a and o from occurring contiguous to one another in the surface representation. In the underlying representation a and o do occur contiguous to one another resulting in (C)V.V(C) syllable patterns.²²

On the basis of the two morphophonemic rules there appears to be a strong case supporting V and VC syllables. There are then, four syllable patterns in Molbog: CV, CVC, V, VC. They combine freely in polysyllabic words of up to seven syllables in length, with the restriction that a V initial syllable does not immediately follow a C final syllable.

D. Consequences for the interpretation of glottal stop.

Since there now appears to be strong supporting evidence for V and VC syllables it appears best to interpret glottal stop as non-phonemic in all morpheme initial positions, including prefix, root, and suffix initial positions.

One exception is the glottal stop occurring suffix initially between like vowels (a---a) which, together with the glottal stop occurring in morpheme medial position between like vowels will be interpreted as a phonemic segment on the strength of its consistent occurrence in these two environments.

E. Consequences for the interpretation of long vowels.

Within words, phonetic long vowels occur only between roots and their prefixes. Because glottal is not found to be phonemic between these morphemes, the resulting long vowels are interpreted as a sequence of two geminate vowels:

mo- $\begin{cases} \text{'o.gót} \\ \text{o.gót} \end{cases} \rightarrow \text{/mo.o.got/ 'sturdy'}$

The resulting V and VC syllables are supported above.

F. Some ambivalent residue for vowels and how to attack it.

1. The systematic absence of a in certain environments is possibly due to Rule One: a $\rightarrow$ o in all syllables except the last two syllables of a word.

a. Absence of a before CSV(C)# may imply that CSV(C) is two syllables and therefore should be interpreted as CV.V(C):

bo.lián $\rightarrow$ /bo.li.an/ not */bol.yan/ 'native healer'

bón.ua $\rightarrow$ /bo.nu.a/ not */bon.wa/ 'house'

b. Absence of a before SCV(C)# may imply that SCV(C) is two syllables and therefore should be interpreted as V.CV(C):

toi.tú' $\rightarrow$ /to.i.tu'/ not */toy.tu'/ 'small'

u.lóu.la $\rightarrow$ /u.lo.u.la/ not */u.low.la/ 'fooling around'

c. Presence of a before CVS# and CSS# may imply that these sequences are only one syllable and therefore should be interpreted as CVC:

sá.koi $\rightarrow$ /sa.koy/ not */sa.ko.i/ 'ride'

sá.rui $\rightarrow$ /sa.ruy/ not */sa.ru.i/ 'vegetable'

sí.kui $\rightarrow$ /si.kuy/ not */si.ku.i/ 'watermelon'

The latter two examples are not */sar.wi/ and */sik.wi/ respectively because /y, w/ do not normally occur as members of such a consonant cluster.

2. The distribution of /y, w/ within words is such that they do not normally occur as a member of a consonant cluster, except after //, and after consonant final prefixes, and in reduplicated roots. This is supportive of the above interpretations.

- CSV# → CV.V bôn.ua → /bo.nu.a/ not */bon.wa/ 'house'
- CSV# → CV.VC o.tiáu → /o.ti.an/ not */ot.yan/ 'exposed reef'
- CSS# → CVC sá.rui → /sa.ruy/ not */sar.wi/ 'vegetable'
- CSSC# → CV.VC bôn.uit → /bo.nu.it/ not */bon.wit/ 'fishhook'
- SCV# → V.CV u.lóu.la → /u.lo.u.la/ not */u.low.la/ 'fooling around'
- gou.gá.di' → /go.u.ga.di'/ not */gow.ga.di'/ 'saw'
- SCVC# → V.CVC toi.tú' → /to.i.tu'/ not */toy.tu'/ 'small'

3. The interpretation of semivowels based on the two morpho-phonemic rules follows the general rule that S → C (in syllable margin) between a nuclear vowel and word break, and between two nuclear vowels. Following this general rule, further supports the above interpretations.

- CSV# → CV.VC puóu → /pu.ow/ 'bald'
- CVS# → CVC sá.koi → /sa.koy/ 'ride'
- sú.lou → /su.low/ 'cone seashell'
- CSS# → CVC sá.rui → /sa.ruy/ 'vegetable'
- og.ko.bíu → /og.ko.biw/ 'being dented'
- VSV# → V.CV áia → /a.ya/ (an exclamation)
- CVSS# → CV.CV káiu → /ka.yu/ 'tree'
- VSVS# → V.CVC sá.iou → /sa.yow/ 'dance'
- #SVS# → CVC uói → /woy/ 'rattan'
- ióu.iou → /yow.yow/ 'swing'
- #SV → CV ió → /yo/ 'his'
- iá.hi' → /ya.hi'/ 'to me'

4. Simplicity in description of the morphophonemics may also be a consideration, and is in agreement with the above interpretations. The kind noted here is nice to simplify because it involves semivowels, which if they are interpreted as vowels in one context and consonants in another, would seem to involve a process created more by the analysis, than an actual phonological process in the language.

a. In the interpretation of reduplicated roots like toi.tú' 'small', if the first i is interpreted as /y/, the pattern of the reduplicated part is irregular: toi.tu'-i.tú' → */tov.tu.'i.tu'/. The simpler description retains /i/ in both parts of the reduplicated root: toi.tu'-i.tú' → /to.i.tu.'i.tu'/.

b. Forms such as po-u.lí' → /po.u.li'/ not */pow.li'/. Comparing other forms of the root -uli' 'go home', it appears that u must be regarded as a vowel in most forms: mú.li' → /mu.li'/, og-úli' → /o.gu.li'/, po-u.li'-u.li'-ón → /po.u.li.'u.li'.on/. The morphophonemic description is then simplified by interpreting u as a vowel in all forms of the root, since the resulting V and VC syllables have ample support. This applies to vowel initial roots prefixed by vowel final prefixes.

c. An exception to the general rule followed in 3. above is based on simplicity of description of the morphophonemics. The verb prefix i- occurs before consonant initial roots: i-tá.gu' → /i.ta.gu'/ 'hide'. Where it occurs before vowel initial roots, since vowel clusters have been recognized, i- is better interpreted as a vowel, even though it occurs between a vowel and word break: i-á.tod → /i.a.tod/ 'transport'. So the verb prefix i- has only one form /i-/.

5. Evidence from cognates in other languages gives some clues especially concerning the absence of a before CSV(C) and SCV(C) described in 1. above. If these words are involved in the process a → o it would indicate that there are two syllables after the resulting o and they would be interpreted as below, in agreement also with the above interpretations.

		Molbog	
Tagalog	kailan	koi.dán	→ /ko.i.dan/ 'when'
	bariya	bó.ria	→ /bo.ri.a/ 'money change'
	maitim	moi.tóm	→ /mo.i.tom/ 'black'
Tausug	sawwal	so.ruár	→ /so.ru.ar/ 'loose-fitting pants'
	banuwa	bón.ua	→ /bo.nu.a/ 'house'
	mawlud	móu.lud	→ /mo.u.lud/ 'birthday celebration of the prophet Muhammad'
	baybad	bói.bad	→ /bo.i.bad/ 'renounce an engagement'

G. Consequences for the interpretation of dž.

In section I.C.2.b. it was observed that the preferred interpretation of dž is not as a sequence of two consonants, either */dz/, or */dy/. Morphophonemic Rule One provides further evidence that dž is not a sequence of */di/, or */diy/. For example hád.žat cannot be */ha.di.at/ or */ha.di.yat/ 'purpose' since a would then occur in a syllable other than the last two syllables of a word. So dž is interpreted as a unit phoneme /j/.

H. Consequences for the interpretation of syllabic n.

Since VC syllables are recognized, and the occurrence of glottal stop in morpheme initial, utterance initial position is interpreted as nonphonemic, syllabic n is best interpreted as V + n. Because the vowel is closest to /i/ in articulation, the sequence is interpreted as /in/.

I. Consequences for the interpretation of possible palatalized consonants.

The two morphophonemic rules provide evidence for vowel clusters, so consonants followed by i preceding another vowel are seen to be C + i. n + i, including the two examples in which this is phonetically like palatalized n, are also interpreted as C + i, so */ñ/ is not included as a segmental phoneme.

IV. Conclusion

It would have been possible to reduce the syllable patterns of Molbog to two, CV and CVC, by regarding glottal stop as present in the initial position in the underlying form of all morphemes that do not begin with another consonant, and by regarding the ambiguous morpheme medial vowel clusters of vowel plus semivowel as nuclear clusters, or as a nuclear vowel plus part of a complex margin, or even possibly as vowels separated by a consonantal semivowel. We also considered interpreting dž as */di/ or */diy/ to avoid setting up /j/ as a consonantal phoneme.

The evidence provided by the two morphophonemic rules, however, leads to the setting up of two additional syllable patterns, V and VC, and confirms the interpretation of dž as a consonantal phoneme /j/. Nothing is lost in this interpretation except in the area of economy of syllable patterns.

What is gained is that glottal stop where it is nonsignificant and/or absent in the phonetics, can be treated that way in the phonemic description. Recognition of clusters of two vowels between consonants and between a consonant and word break results in a simpler description than that required for complex vowel nuclei, or complex consonant margins, and is simpler and more accurate in representing the phonetics than a description requiring consonantal semivowels between the two vowels.

Description of morphophonemic changes involving semivowels is also simplified.

The simpler description then, of Molbog data entails four syllable patterns, CV, CVC, V, VC. With these patterns, 21 segmental phonemes are established, 17 consonants and four vowels.

NOTES

¹The author wishes to acknowledge the contribution by Austin Hale of this title and of valuable help in outlining this paper. Much of the sorting of data was done by Judy Thiessen.

²Molbog is the language spoken by approximately five thousand Muslim residents of southern Palawan province, mainly resident on the islands of Balabac and Ramos, and also the island of Banggi of Sabah. The data for this study were obtained during residence at Bual, Ramos in 1975-77, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Though Molbogs are Muslim, of the languages spoken in the southern Philippines, Molbog is most closely related to Palawan dialects spoken in southern Palawan, rather than to Cagayan de Sulu or Samal dialects. See also Survey of Southern Palawan (Thiessen, ms.) on file at the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Philippines.

³Some of the symbols used in this paper are the following. Acute accent marks primary stress. Accute accent over s and z (s, z) should be read ŝ ẓ. A curved line below connecting two vowels indicates a nuclear cluster (thus, siam). A period on the line indicates syllable boundary. A colon following a vowel indicates vowel length. An asterisk, *, indicates an unsupported or nonoccurring form. A single dash indicates morpheme boundary. A line under a portion of a cited form indicates what is under consideration in that example.

⁴S here does not indicate a third class of phonemes, but rather the occurrence of a semivowel which is ambiguous as to its interpretation.

⁵For the interpretation of similar syllabic nasals as V + C, see Pallesen, Phonemes of Samal of Sulu, p. 18.

⁶For a description and contrast of the segmental phonemes see Appendix A.

⁷This may be understood in the light of what Bloomfield says in Language, p. 120, "Any vowel is more sonorous than a consonant, a low vowel more than a high vowel."

⁸ In the Cuyono alphabet, similar semivowels are analysed as nuclei of short syllables.

⁹ In the case of i and u occurring together, it is usually difficult to tell which represents the peak of sonority, which is normal in length or short.

¹⁰ For example, Pike states in Phonemics, page 130, "Whenever, on the grounds of the phonetic and distributional evidence, the student is unable to decide which of two descriptions is preferable, he should choose the one which allows the simplest description of the grammar."

¹¹ Here it would not be proposed to actually set up complex phonemes as ii, ia, ou, et cetera, or i^l, ia, ou, et cetera, which would result in the proliferation of phonemes, but the possibility is suggested of regarding vocoid clusters as nuclear clusters similar to diphthongs.

¹² Similarities to this glottal stop may be noted in both Cuyono and Palawan where it is regarded as a noncontrastive feature of vowel onset. This same glottal stop in Sama Baangingi shows some interesting differences and is there interpreted as phonemic.

¹³ Some ways in which glottal stop is different from other consonants: (1) Its occurrence in morpheme initial, utterance initial position before vowels is irregular and appears to be a nonsignificant feature of vowel onset after silence, because it does not occur morpheme initial utterance medial except suffix initial between like vowels. (2) It does not occur with length. (3) It does not occur as the second member of a consonant cluster. (4) It does occur as the first member of a consonant cluster before /y, w/. (5) The morphophonemic Rule Two, o → a applies across an intervening glottal stop, whereas if any other consonant except /h/, intervenes between o and a, the rule does not apply.

¹⁴ The environments in which the presence of glottal stop contrasts with its absence and with other consonants are: morpheme medially between dissimilar vowels, dó'un 'leaf' and tóun 'year' and dó.hum 'needle'; medially between V_C (not C_V), tú.lang 'bone' and tú.lung 'help' and tún.dan 'lead'; and morpheme finally between V #, gá.ta 'coconut milk' and gá.ta 'ditch around the house' and gá.tas 'milk'.

¹⁵ z could be said to be in complementary distribution with y since z occurs only after d and y occurs only elsewhere.

¹⁶ In Sama Baangingi this compound is interpreted as /d.j/.

¹⁷ In Phonemes of Sama of Sulu this compound is interpreted as /j.j/.

¹⁸ For comparison see other Muslim Philippine languages, namely Tausug, Sinama Baangingi, Jama Mapun in which palatalized n appears as a phoneme /ñ/.

¹⁹ A word is defined as a minimum utterance that can occur in isolation, and which has the ability to occur as a unit in different larger phonological utterances. It may consist of a single morpheme, or a reduplicated root, or of either of these plus one or more affixes.

²⁰ In roots of more than two syllables a does not occur before the last two syllables of the root except in roots such as ba.hā.gi 'share', ba.'ā.sa 'habit', in which a in the pre-penultimate syllable is separated from a in the penultimate syllable only by ' or h. Rule Two is seen as the explanation, but the underlying form could be o or a.

²¹ Further evidence against regarding the two vowels as a complex nucleus is that in reduplication of the initial CV of a verb stem, only the first vowel is reduplicated: og-di-diom-ān 'dwelling (place)', og-tu-tuād 'on end'.

²² Compare other related languages with four vowel systems in which e represents the pepet vowel, (which is analogous to o in Molbog,) and occurs contiguous to a:

Cuyono: da.eg 'to defeat'

Batak: ta.eg 'tell'

Aborlan Tagbanwa: ba.sa.en 'read'

Calamian Tagbanwa: pa.ekl. 'order'

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APPENDIX A

Description of Segmental Phonemes

There are twenty one phonemes in Molbog: seventeen consonants as shown in Table 1, and four vowels as shown in Table 2.

1. All consonants occur as syllable onset. All except /j/ and /h/ occur as syllable coda. /h/ occurs as syllable coda only in a geminate cluster which is very rare.

The consonants do not have strictly allophonic variation, however, some variations occur: /k/ is often fronted in a nonback environment, kima 'giant clam'; /g/ is sometimes lenis between vowels, itugal 'plant with dibble stick'; /s/ may be slightly grooved before i, siam 'nine'; /ng/ is sometimes slightly labialized following u, tutungwon 'burn something'.

The voiceless and voiced stops contrast as follows:

<u>p</u> aga 'drying rack'	<u>b</u> aga 'shoulder'
<u>t</u> ogo 'there is'	<u>d</u> oga 'yet'
<u>k</u> asi 'mercy'	<u>g</u> asi 'also'
<u>p</u> andi 'I wonder'	<u>p</u> anji 'flag'
<u>d</u> udu 'breast'	<u>d</u> uru 'liquid'

binakal 'spear'd'

bina'al 'made'

do'un 'leaf'

dohum 'needle'

The fricatives contrast as follows:

saduk 'hat'hadap 'front'

The nasals contrast as follows:

moogon 'long time yet'noogon 'long time past'anak 'child'angak 'green parrot'

The liquids contrast as follows:

luat 'come off'ruat 'topple'

2. Despite the fact that /a/ occurs only in the last two syllables of a word (except as noted in Morphophonemic Rule Two), it is the most frequently occurring vowel in Molbog. /u/ occurs least frequently. As noted in the discussion of the two morphophonemic rules, a and o do not occur contiguous to one another in the surface representation. Further restrictions on vowel distribution includes the following: /a/ does not occur before /w/ in the same syllable; /o/ does not occur final or immediately preceding a final glottal in roots that can be suffixed.

The vowels do not have strictly allophonic variation, however, they each represent a range of values somewhat influenced by their environment.

/i/ is high front unrounded. Before a back environment in a closed syllable it is often lowered to ɪ, dorɪkɪk 'sprinkling'.

/a/ is low central unrounded. In a high environment it may be raised to ʌ, nojʌp 'surprised'.

/u/ is high back rounded. Its range is as low as mid back in words like oro 'medicine'. The norm is between high and mid back and it may be classified as tense, not lax, as it does not take the form ʊ.

/o/ is low back rounded. Its range is as high as mid central ə in nokol tog 'was able to see', and kirɔy 'eyebrow'.

/u/ and /o/ contrast as follows:

ulu 'head'olu 'exchange labor'montung 'pregnant'montong 'nice smelling'

/a/ and /o/ contrast as follows:

tabang 'help'tobong 'fell (a tree)'

odan 'old'

odon 'term of address to younger female'

		Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Velar	Glottal
stops	voiceless	p	t		k	
	voiced	b	d	j	g	
fricatives			s		h	
nasals		m	n		ng	
liquids	lateral		l			
	trill		r			
semivowels		w		y		

Table 1 Consonant Phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
high	i		u
low		a	o

Table 2 Vowel Phonemes

A Look at a Northern Kankanay Text

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This is a look at a narrative text entitled 'The Time of the Enemy', told by Carnado Amkinit who is a resident of the village of Balugang, Sagada, Mountain Province.¹

The method of charting used here is based on that taught to linguistic students by Dr. Robert Longacre. The predicates of the main clauses are lined up in a column with columns for other main clause constituents in their normal positions before and after the predicate. When a clause or constituent of a clause does not fit into these columns, the non-usual order is often significant in the discourse structure.

For Northern Kankanay, the columns I have used are the pre-clause column which is separated from the main clause by a solid line, the pre-predicate column (sometimes including an attracted actor), the predicate (in which I have included nonfocused actors), the focused item column, and the post-focused item column. In the pre-clause column are found sentence or paragraph level constituents, such as preposed items, 'when', 'but', and such. In the post-focus column are found mostly clause level locations.

Initial paragraph divisions

After I had charted this text, I separated the paragraphs intuitively according to content and came up with the following outline:

- Lines 1-6 Introduction of the woman
- Lines 7-8 Introduction of other cast
- Lines 9-12 Dog's first try to warn woman
- Lines 13-17 Dog's second and successful try
- Lines 18-22 The chase
- Lines 23-27 Home safe
- Lines 28-29 Story wrap-up
- Lines 30-31 Closing formula

When I had drawn lines to separate these sections, it became apparent that many of the paragraphs started out with a pre-clause constituent.

The only paragraph in the main part of the story that was missing a pre-clause constituent begins at Line 18 and this is at the peak of the action which could override the need for paragraph markings. There are also pre-clause constituents in Lines 4, 5, 8, 27, and 29, but these seemed to function on sentence level rather than paragraph level.

Looking more closely at Lines 1-6, we see a cohesive unit as discussed under bracketing. However, Lines 1-3 seem to form a sub-unit. They form a pattern that appears in several other texts that I have looked at. The pattern consists of three elements: 1) 'there is _____', 2) a complication in the form of a lack or fear, and 3) what the main character does or where he goes. Several examples are:

There is a woman...no food...goes to the field

There are two brothers...no parents...go to live with grandparent

There is Angalo...no salt in ocean...goes to ocean

There is a man...doesn't finish plowing...stays overnight

In most cases, this is all in the setting, not involving the main complication of the story. This introduction formula plus the pre-clause constituent in Line 4 would seem to break Lines 1-6 into two subsections.

Lines 7 and 8 appear to be two very parallel paragraphs introducing the other members of the cast, each with a pre-clause constituent.

Bracketing

Lines 1 to 6 show something I have begun to see in other texts as well, a bracketed paragraph. In these paragraphs, the topic is given in a noun phrase in the first sentence, referred to only by pronouns, if at all, throughout the paragraph and is given again in an identical noun phrase in the last sentence. In this text, the first section is bracketed by nan in-ina 'the woman'. In several such examples, the paragraph is part of the setting, coming before the main action of the story.

Lines 7 to 17 appear to be another bracketed section, although the bracketing is somewhat different. Here the existential clause wada nan boso 'there is the enemy' opens the section, then closes the last two paragraphs (Lines 12 and 17).

Lines 19 to 29 are not bracketed, but seem to form a unit with each paragraph ending in a near refrain which highlights the fact that the enemy did not get or kill her.

Paragraphs and episodes

The factors mentioned above lead to a slightly different analysis of the parts of this text, made up of units on two levels, as follows:

Episodes (solid line in text)	Paragraphs (broken line)
1-6 The woman	1-3 Introduction of woman
	4-6 Gathering yams
7-17 The enemy watching	7 Introduction of enemy
	8 Introduction of dog
	9-12 First warning
	13-17 Second warning
18-29 Escaping the enemy	18-22 The chase
	23-27 Home safe
	28-29 Why they didn't catch her
30-31 Closing formula	30-31 Closing formula

Past tense

Past tense in Northern Kankanay has been a puzzle to me. It is used sparingly and has seemed to have something to do with highlighting. While not solving all the problems, some things show up in this text. Past tense occurs ten times (underlined in text). Four of these occurrences are in the pre-clause, paragraph initial constituent and set the action in the past (Lines 4, 9, 13, and 24) and two of these are followed by past action in the main clause (Lines 9 and 13). These two begin the paragraphs of the dog's attempts to warn the woman and there is no parallel past in the section on the chase. Of the remaining occurrences of past tense, two are in the first and last appearances of the dog (Lines 8 and 29) and the other two occur after the word egay "not yet" which is normally followed by past tense, in sentences which speak about the enemy not getting the woman (Lines 22 and 29). It is interesting to note that past tense occurs either paragraph initially or finally (but never both) in every paragraph except in the introduction of the woman, in the introduction of the enemy, and in the closing formula.

Summary and observations

This paper is a start toward discovering the structure of narrative discourse in Northern Kankanay. Tentatively we may say that a discourse is made up of episodes which contain paragraphs. Episodes show cohesion through bracketing or paragraph refrains. Paragraphs are marked by the

use of pre-clause constituents and tense and by the beginning and ending of episodes, which are also the beginning and ending of paragraphs.

Other questions have been raised and observations made which call for further investigation. Some of these relate to the use of post predicate particles, the omission of focused items, and restatement.

Post predicate particles are words that usually come after the predicate and are hard to translate but give an added sense to the clause. In this text they occur twice (line 8 and 16) at very pivotal points--the dog (who would save the woman) was there too and lo, she saw the enemy (and hence had a chance to escape).

The omission of a focused item occurs three times in this text, twice with the focus pointing back to the location in the previous clause (lines 9-10 and 13-14) and once with two clauses sharing a focused item (lines 23-24).

A restatement of lines 20 and 21 occurs in line 28 with changes needed to make two clauses into one focused noun phrase.

These are some of the things I will be watching in hope of finding how they are used in further work on Northern Kankanay discourse.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Northern Kankanay is spoken by approximately 22,000 speakers in the municipalities of Sagada and Besao of Mountain Province, Philippines. In looking at this text I have greatly appreciated the help of Austin Hale.

Isnan timpon di Boso
The time of enemy

Pre-Clause	Pre-Pred	Pred	Focused Item	Other
1.		wada there is	nan in-ina ay the woman who iBogang person of Bogang	

Free Translation

The Time of the Enemy

			ay wada nan who had a
			om-ana id Baknad field her at Baknad
2.	daet then	maiwed none	kanenda food their
3.	danat she	kanan said/thought	en onay quote go
			mang-obi is gather yams for
			kanenda food their
4. idi inmey when went	daet then	mang-obi gather yams	ø she
isnan to			
om-ana field her			
5. idi when		ad-ado many	nan ala na ay the get she of
mang-ob-obi gathering yams			obi yams
isnan in			
om-ana field her			
6.	daet then	men-gasing happy	nan in-ina the woman

Free Translation

1. There was a woman of Bogang who had a field in Baknad.
2. They had no food
3. so she thought that she would go gather yams for their food.
4. When she had gone to her field, she gathered yams.
5. While she was gathering yams, she got many yams.
6. Then the woman was happy.

7. ngen but		wada there is	nan boso ay the enemy who mang-ila ken are seeing siya her
8. ngen but		wada abes there is also	nan asona ay the dog her who nang-ila isnan saw the boso enemy
9. ngen idi but when <u>inila</u> na saw he nan boso the enemy		<u>inmey</u> went	Ø he isnan kad-an the place of nan lowana the basket-her
10.	et and	ena went he lowasowen push over	
11.	dapay then	men-gonggong- gong bark	Ø he
12.	dapay then adi na not she pagalopen realize		(en) wada there is nan boso the enemy

7. But there were enemy who were watching her.

8. But there was also her dog who was watching the enemy.

9. But when he saw the enemy, he went to where her basket was

10. and he went and pushed it over.

11. Then he barked.

12. Then she didn't realize that the enemy were there.

13.	isonga therefore	<u>inmey</u> went	o he	isnan to obetna seat her
	<u>nan inkaan</u> did			
	nan aso the dog			
14.	et and	mendosngo na butt he		
15.	esapay then	tomakdeg stand	nan in-ina the woman	
16.	et and	ilaen na see she gayam "lo"	nan sosoowenda the place above them	
17.	daet then	wada there is	nan boso the enemy	
18.	esanapay then she	men-ala get	nan lowana the basket her	
19.	et and	lomayaw run	da they	isnan aso the dog
20.	et and	idaan da go they		id Litipan to Litipan
21.	et and	lobten da enter they		id Somaging Somaging Cave

Free Translation

13. Therefore what the dog did, he went to her seat
 14. and butted her.
 15. Then the woman stood
 16. then she saw, sure enough, above them
 17. that there were the enemy.

18. Then she got her basket
 19. and they, with the dog, ran away
 20. and they went to Litipan
 21. and they entered Somaging Cave

28. ngem nan but the	adi da not they	getken know	nan daan id the path at	
boso enemy			Latipan ay lombot Latipan that enter	
			id Somaging at Somaging	
29. isonga there- fore	egay da not they	<u>nakadateng</u> able to get to	(da)	isnan in-ina the woman
				ya nan and the
				asona ay dog-her that
				<u>nangbiyag</u> saved life
				ken siya of her
30.		siya that's	nan kombos naay the end this	
31.		maiwed none	teken else	

Free Translation

28. But as for the enemy, they didn't know the path at Latipan that enters Somaging Cave.

29. Therefore they couldn't get to the woman and her dog that saved her life.

30. That's the end of this.

31. There isn't any more.

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The idea of writing non-technical grammars of Papua New Guinean languages has been gaining momentum over the past two or three years. One such non-technical grammar (Paisawa, Pagotto & Kale 1976) and another partial grammar (Lithgow 1975) have been published. At least five S.I.L. people in Papua New Guinea are currently writing non-technical grammars for publication, and several others are planning to do so soon. In the P.N.G. branch of S.I.L. each language team is required to write a complete publishable grammar of the language they are studying, and last year it was decided that any team who prefers to write a non-technical grammar may do so. Pacific Linguistics plans to publish a series under the title "Handbook of New Guinea Area Languages" (Vol. 1 - 1978) with the stated goal "to produce straightforward, non-technical descriptions of the phonologies and grammars of the languages of the Irian Jaya and Papua New Guinea area" (McElhanon ms).

What is the point of writing non-technical grammars? Are they really needed? In Papua New Guinea we are beginning to see several important reasons for writing non-technical grammars.

Firstly, our technical papers are unintelligible to most Papua New Guineans who speak English as a second language. This includes university students and government officials who have complained that they can't understand the papers we give them.

Secondly, many of our technical papers are unintelligible to expatriates, both linguists and non-linguists. This includes both S.I.L. and other linguists who have studied some other linguistic theory and are not very familiar with the particular theory on which a paper may be based. It also includes other expatriates, such as government and mission personnel, who may be interested to learn something about the languages in the areas where they work.

A third reason for writing non-technical grammars is to provide materials which national translators can use to help them to write grammars of the languages into which they are translating. (Their discoveries in writing these grammars should in turn help them to write a more natural translation.)

In looking for guidelines to follow in writing a non-technical grammar, I gleaned ideas from various sources, including K. A. McElhanon, "style sheet for Handbook of New Guinea Area Languages" (unpublished manuscript) and Doris Bartholomew, "A Manual for Practical Grammars" (1976). Finally I decided on a set of tentative guidelines to follow in writing a non-technical grammar of Mangga Buang. Following my initial experiences in writing the non-technical grammar, I have modified and added to the guidelines, and included some extra comments.

Content and Presentation

1. Include a guide to pronunciation covering the main features of the phonology and only give detailed descriptions where they are needed for the grammar and language examples to make sense.
2. Describe the grammar in terms of the items of English grammar which are taught in primary schools, namely verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns.² Then go on to describe the other parts of speech which occur.
3. Describe larger grammatical structures under the item to which they most appropriately relate. For example, the description of nouns can include a section showing how nouns combine into noun phrases and equational clauses; the description of verbs should include a section on verb phrases and verbal clauses; the description of conjunctions should show how these are used in phrases, sentences and paragraphs.
4. Present the grammar material in a logical order for the language, starting with basic things and progressing to related, less basic things.

An extra comment here. I first started to describe Mangga Buang verbs, but because most verbs have prefixes determined by the actor pronouns and nouns, and because some nouns have possessed suffixes determined by the owner pronoun or noun, I decided it would be simplest to describe pronouns first, and then nouns and perhaps also adjectives and numbers, before moving into verbs. Bartholomew suggests describing first things which parallel the national language, but if there was a conflict between items which have a parallel in English, and items which are more easily described first, I think I would choose items which are more easily described/explained first in Mangga Buang.

5. Describe all the grammar structure, if necessary adding sections for structures which do not relate closely enough to any of the parts of speech to be described with them, e.g. negatives; questions and commands.
6. Add a section comparing Mangga Buang and English, and include in this any common English grammatical items which are not explicit in Mangga Buang grammar, and have not been mentioned, e.g. plural nouns.

An extra comment here. My first thought was to describe only the grammatical structures of Mangga Buang, but that would leave gaps for people from other areas who may want to know something like how you translate plural nouns into Mangga Buang.

The section on comparing the two languages could also cover figures of speech, idioms, and other sets of word combinations which act rather differently in the two languages. Other interesting se-

mantic areas could also be mentioned, e.g. the Mangga Buang family position names.

7. In a further section called "Some Mangga Buang Stories" include a few brief texts showing a variety of discourse types.
8. At the end of the paper add footnotes, references, a glossary if there are enough linguistic terms used in the paper to warrant it, and perhaps a list of 200 or so common vocabulary items, unless a bilingual dictionary might be published soon enough to meet this need.

Style and Format

9. Use clear, straightforward English vocabulary and sentences. If there is a simpler word or a simpler way to express something, use it.
10. Avoid technical terms wherever possible. For the few technical terms which are essential, introduce each term with an explanation of its meaning and use, and give examples.
11. When you introduce a new point or term, decide whether it would be helpful to give an English example before going on to give Mangga Buang examples.
12. Do not use formulae or diagrams.
13. Avoid abbreviations wherever you can.
14. Use paradigms in preference to charts for showing such things as word affixation and pronoun sets.
15. If you use any charts, explain what they are and how to read them.
16. List in full any closed minor word classes.
17. Use plenty of relevant Mangga Buang examples to illustrate what you are saying.

Examples should be simple and clear, not introducing complications.

In minor word classes, examples should be sufficient to cover all the uses of items which have a wide range of meaning, e.g. prepositions.

An extra comment here. So far I have been able to avoid using hyphens between morphemes in my vernacular examples, thus making them much easier for a non-linguist to read, especially where the affix is less than a syllable. This may be impossible for languages with complicated morphology, but I think it would be worth trying.

18. Present and illustrate just one point at a time. For example, give

a general rule first and illustrate it without mentioning exceptions. Then give each exception with examples separately.

19. Don't expect the reader to remember a comment from the last section. If repeating it makes this section clearer, repeat it. Consider whether cross referencing would be helpful, or would it be confusing.
20. Set out all the material so that it is easy to read and easy to consult. Divide topics into small enough units so that the reader can remember what is being discussed, and so that he can find it later.

It is hard to predict how these guidelines will work out as I get deeper into writing the non-technical paper, especially in describing larger structures. It will not be easy to write a truly non-technical grammar, but if it can be understood by a wider audience, it will have been very worthwhile.

NOTES

- 1 Mangga Buang is an Austronesian language spoken by about 3000 people living just below the headwaters of the Snake River in the Morobe Province of Papua New Guinea.
- 2 Although English is not the national language of Papua New Guinea, it is the language of education, and therefore the appropriate language in which to write a non-technical grammar.

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APPENDIX: Excerpts from Joan Healey (forth coming)

A Grammar of Mangga Buang, Ukarumpa: S.I.L.

C O N T E N T S

Introduction

- 1 A Guide to Pronunciation
- 2 Main Features of the Grammar
- 3 Pronouns
- 4 Nouns
- 5 Adjectives
- 6 Numbers
- 7 Verbs
- 8 Adverbs
- 9 Prepositions
- 10 Conjunctions
- 11 Negatives
- 12 Questions, Statements and Commands
- 13 Comparing Mangga Buang and English
- 14 Some Mangga Buang Stories

References

Vocabulary

The table of contents given above is included here with the purpose of showing what such a grammar might cover. The draft of Chapters 3 and 4 which follows is included with a view to exemplifying the style and level of presentation envisioned in such a grammar. [Ed.]

3 Pronouns

Pronouns are words such as he, they, you, I and we. In English the pronoun "they" means more than one person, but in Mangga Buang there are three different pronouns for "they", meaning two, three or more people. Also there are four different pronouns for "you", and five different pronouns for "we, us". Mangga Buang has 14 pronouns altogether.

One person:

<u>sa</u>	"I, me"
<u>hong</u>	"you"
<u>yi</u>	"he, him, she, her"

Two people:

<u>hoow</u>	"you and I, you and me"
<u>haay</u>	"we two, us two" (not you and me)
<u>muuh</u>	"you two"
<u>y'uh</u>	"they, those two"

Three people:

<u>waay</u>	"we three, us three"
<u>maal</u>	"you three"
<u>yaal</u>	"they, those three"

Four or more people:

<u>yiiy</u>	"we and you, you and us"
<u>hey</u>	"we, us" (not you and us)
<u>ham</u>	"you"
<u>sil</u>	"they"

3.1 How Pronouns are Used

Pronouns are used before verbs to show who is doing what the verb says. The pronoun yi "he, she" is not used before verbs, but all the other pronouns are. Notice that when pronouns end with consonants, those last consonants are not pronounced when the next word starts with a consonant. In the sentences below, sapa means "followed".

si sapa "They followed."

sapa "He followed."

maa sapa "You three followed."

haa tuk sapa
we two first son followed "First son and I followed."

ham ti sapa
you one followed "One of you followed."

Pronouns are used after verbs to show who else is affected by what the verb says. All of the pronouns come after verbs.

yiis sa
hit me "He hit me."

ataak neel yi
mother scolded him "Mother scolded him."

sa doosin yuuh
I ignorant they two "I do not know those two."

laas vu muuh
came to you two "He came to you two."

la in hong
went without you "He went without you."

Pronouns are used before te "belonging to" to show who owns something. After words ending with a consonant, te is pronounced ate.

sa te voow
I belonging to dog "It is my dog."

hey ate meel
we belonging to yams "They are our yams."

yiyy pin ate kul
we and you all our work "It is work belonging to all of us."

It is very rare for a pronoun to come after te "belonging to" to show who is owned by someone.

haay mama te muuh-o
we two mother belonging to you two-I "You two are Mother's and my friends."

Pronouns are used before body part nouns and family nouns to show who owns the body part or who has the family relative. The pronoun yi "he, she" is not used before body part nouns and family nouns, but all other pronouns are.

ham naman
you your hand "your hands"

hey alingg
we our brother "our brothers"

maha "his uncle" or "her uncle"

Pronouns may be used before nouns, numbers and adjectives to show who people are, how many they are, or what they are like.

sa yeev
I leader "I am a leader."

yi nes nando Buagi booy
she nurse living Buagi before "She was a nurse at Buagi before."

sa Mumeng
I Mumeng "I am from Mumeng."

hey hil ngeeyaata loot
we people many very "There were lots of us."

sil yumbeyuuh
they four "There were four of them."

sa pasiv
I small "I am small."

3.2 Some Pronouns Change Their Forms

Before certain words, some pronouns are shortened to a single letter and join on to the next word.

hong "you" is shortened to g

hoow "you and I, you and me" may be shortened to w

muuh "you two" may be shortened to m

yiyy "we and you, you and us" may be shortened to y

These shortened pronouns occur on body part nouns which start with a.

avi "mouth"

ahe "stomach"

me "eye" is pronounced ame after words ending with consonants

lo "inside" is pronounced alo after words ending with consonants

lu "head" is pronounced alu after words ending with consonants

The next list of examples shows how the pronouns and the shortened pronouns work. The endings on the nouns are ngg "mine, our", m "your" and nd "their".

sa mengg "my eye"

gamem "your eye"

me "his eye, her eye, its eye"

hoow amengg or wamengg "my eye and your eye"

haay amengg "our eyes" (mine and another person's)

muuh amem or manem "your eyes" (two of you)

yuuh amend "their eyes" (two people's)

waay amengg "our eyes" (three of us)

maal amen "your eyes" (three of you)

yaal amend "their eyes" (three people's)

yiiy amengg or yamengg "our eyes and yours"

hey amengg "our eyes" (more than three of us)

ham amem "your eyes" (more than three of you)

sil amend "their eyes" (more than three people's)

The four shortened pronouns also occur on te "belonging to" which is pronounced ate after words which finish with consonants.

sa te "mine"

gate "your"

yi te "his"

hoow ate or wate "our" (mine and yours)

haay ate "our" (belonging to two of us, not yours and mine)

muuh ate or mate "your" (belonging to you two)

yuuh ate "their" (belonging to those two)
waay ate "our" (belonging to us three)
maal ate "your" (belonging to you three)
yaal ate "their" (belonging to those three)
yiiy ate or yate "cur" (belonging to us and you)
hey ate "our" (belonging to us, not you and us)
man ate "your" (belonging to all of you)
sil ate "their"

The four shortened pronouns also occur on le "will" which is pronounced ale after words which finish with consonants. le may be shortened to e after words which finish with consonants, but shortened pronouns never occur on e. In the sentences below, kaavu means "write".

sa le kaavu "I will write."
ga le kaavu "You will write."
le kaavu "He will write."
hoow e kaavu or hoow ale kaavu or wale kaavu "You and I will write."
haay e kaavu or haay ale kaavu "We two will write."
muuh e kaavu or muuh ale kaavu or male kaavu "You two will write."
yuuh e kaavu or yuuh ale kaavu "Those two will write."
waay e kaavu or waay ale kaavu "We three will write."
maal e kaavu or maal ale kaavu "You three will write."
yaal e kaavu or yaal ale kaavu "Those three will write."
yiiy e kaavu or yiiy ale kaavu or yale kaavu "We and you will write."
hey e kaavu or hey ale kaavu "We will write."
ham e kaavu or ham ale kaavu "You will write."
sil e kaavu or sil ale kaavu "They will write."

The four shortened pronouns also occur on me "not" which is pronounced ame after words which finish with consonants. The word "not" is really in two parts, me comes near the beginning of the sentence, and le comes at the end of the part that says what someone did not do.

sa me kaavu le "I did not write."

game kaavu le "You did not write."

me kaavu le "He did not write."

hoow ame kaavu le or wame kaavu le "You and I did not write."

haay ame kaavu le "We two did not write."

muuh ame kaavu le or mame kaavu le "You two did not write."

yuuh ame kaavu le "Those two did not write."

waay ame kaavu le "We three did not write."

maal ame kaavu le "You three did not write."

yaal ame kaavu le "Those three did not write."

yiiy ame kaavu le or yame kaavu le "We and you did not write."

hey ame kaavu le "We did not write."

ham ame kaavu le "You did not write."

sil ame kaavu le "They did not write."

The four shortened pronouns may occur before the verb prefix mo- "keep on", when it is pronounced amo- after words which finish with consonants. However it seems more common to pronounce it mo- and not pronounce the last consonant of the word before it, and then the pronoun prefixes are not used.

sa mokaavu "I kept on writing."

ho mokaavu "You kept on writing."

mokaavu "He kept on writing."

hoo mokaavu or hoow amo kaavu or wamokaavu "You and I kept on writing."

haa mokaavu or haay amo kaavu "We two kept on writing."

yu mokaavu or yuuh amokaavu "Those two kept on writing."

waa mokaavu or waay amokaavu "We three kept on writing."

maa mokaavu or maal amokaavu "You three kept on writing."

yaa mokaavu or yaal amokaavu "Those three kept on writing."

yii mokaavu or yiiy amokaavu or yamokaavu "We and you kept on writing."

he mokaavu or hey amokaavu "We kept on writing."

ha mokaavu or ham amokaavu "You kept on writing."

si mokaavu or sil amokaavu "They kept on writing."

The four shortened pronouns occur on verbs which have the prefixes a- and aa-. Also the pronoun sa "I, me" is shortened to s and joins on to these a- and aa- verbs. In the sentences below, la means "went", lala means "they went", lingin means "asked", lalingin means "they asked". Notice that the last consonants of the pronouns are not pronounced before lala and lalingin.

sala "I went."

gala "You went."

la "He went."

hoow ala or wala "You and I went."

haay ala "We two went."

muuh ala or mala "You two went."

yu lala "Those two went."

waay ala "We three went."

maal ala "You three went."

yaa lala "Those three went."

yiiy ala or yala "We and you went."

hey ala "We went"

ham ala "You went"

si lala "They went."

<u>saalingin</u>	"I asked"
<u>galingin</u>	"You asked"
<u>lingin</u>	"He asked"
<u>hoow aalingin</u> or <u>waalingin</u>	"You and I asked."
<u>haay aalingin</u>	"We two asked."
<u>muuh alingin</u> or <u>malingin</u>	"You two asked."
<u>yuulalingin</u>	"Those two asked."
<u>waay aalingin</u>	"We three asked."
<u>maal alingin</u>	"You three asked."
<u>yaa lalingin</u>	"Those three asked."
<u>yiiy aalingin</u> or <u>yaalingin</u>	"We and you asked."
<u>hey aalingin</u>	"We asked."
<u>ham alingin</u>	"You asked."
<u>si lalingin</u>	"They asked."

Three pronouns are shortened when oow "just" follows the pronouns.

sa is shortened to s

hong is shortened to g

yi is shortened to y

All the other pronouns remain unchanged before oow.

<u>soow</u>	"just me"
<u>goow</u>	"just you"
<u>yoow</u>	"just him" or "just her"
<u>hoow oow</u>	"just you and me"
<u>haay oow</u>	"just us two"
<u>yuuh oow</u>	"just those two"
<u>waay oow</u>	"just us three"

<u>naal oow</u>	"just you three"
<u>yaal oow</u>	"just those three"
<u>yiiy oow</u>	"just you and us"
<u>hey oow</u>	"just us"
<u>ham oow</u>	"just you"
<u>sil oow</u>	"just them"

4 Nouns

Nouns are words which name things, people, places and times. In Mangga Buang there are nine different kinds of nouns.

- 1) Common nouns
- 2) Body part nouns
- 3) Family nouns
- 4) Personal names
- 5) Person titles
- 6) Place names
- 7) Direction nouns
- 8) Time nouns
- 9) Nouns made from verbs

4.1 Common Nouns

There are many common nouns in Mangga Buang. They include words like

<u>manak</u>	"bird"
<u>sanggingg</u>	"hawk"
<u>omaahonoon</u>	"people"
<u>mop</u>	"road"
<u>liiy</u>	"play"
<u>bun</u>	"bundle"
<u>laalo</u>	"song"

Common nouns do not have any endings or other extra parts joined on to them. To show that something expressed by a common noun is owned by someone, the word te "belonging to" is used just before the noun. After words which finish with consonants, te is pronounced ate.

sil ate liiy "their game"
they their play

ham ate laalo "your song"
you your song

4.2 Body Part Nouns

There are about 30 body part nouns. They are words such as hand, mouth and eye. All these body parts must belong to someone or something, and who they belong to is always shown by the ending on the body part noun. The endings are:

ngg "our"

m "your"

nd "their"

A body part noun without an ending means "his" or "her" or "its". (In the rest of this paper, examples of the body part nouns without endings are translated as "his", except where a noun before the body part shows that it should be "her" or "its".)

The next group of examples shows how the body part endings work. The pronouns and nouns that come before the body part make it clearer who has the body part. Notice that the last consonants of the pronouns are not pronounced before the body part nouns.

namangg "my hand" or "our hands"

sa namangg
I hand my "my hand"

hoo namangg
you and I hand our "my hand and your hand"

has namangg
we two hand our "our hands" (mine and another person's)

has ataak namangg
we two mother hand our "my hand and mother's hand"

was namangg
we three hand our "our hands" (three of us)

yii namangg
we and you hand our "our hands and yours"

he namangg
we hand our "our hands" (more than three of us)

naman "your hand" or "your hands"

ho namam
you hand your "your hand"

muu namam
you two hand your "your hands" (two of you)

muu kaputung namam
you two teacher hand your "your hand and the teacher's hand"

maa namam
you three hand your "your hands" (three of you)

ha namam
you hand your "your hands" (more than three of you)

nama "his hand"

veeh ti nama
woman one hand her "one woman's hand"

Tom nama
Tom hand his "Tom's hand"

voow nama
dog hand its "the dog's front legs"

yuu namand
those two hand their "their hands" (two people's)

yaa namand
those three hand their "their hands" (three people's)

si namand
they hand their "their hands" (more than three people's)

si pin namand
they all hand their "everyone's hands"

Some body part nouns are only one syllable words. Here are some of the one syllable body part nouns:

ka "his throat"

lo "his insides"

lu "his head"

me "his eye"

ni "his body"

nye "his jaw"

These one syllable body part nouns are all pronounced with an a at the front after words which finish with consonants. So,

ka "his throat" is pronounced aka after words ending with consonants

kange "my throat, our throats" is pronounced

akangg after consonants

kam "your throat, your throats" is pronounced

akam after consonants

kand "their throats" is pronounced

akand after consonants

The next group of examples shows how the single syllable body part nouns have a at the front after words ending with consonants, but they never have a at the front after words ending with vowels.

sa kangg
I throat my "my throat"

hey akangg
we throat our "our throats"

sa lungg
I head my "my head"

haay alungg
we two head our "our two heads"

ham amem
you eye your "your eyes"

muuh lati mem
you two who eye your "your eye and who else's?"

lati ka
who throat his "whose throat?"

veeh aka
woman throat her "the woman's throat"

hil anind
people body their "the people's bodies"

WHAT IS TAGMEMICS? (Continued)

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In the Proceedings of the S.I.L. Consultants Seminar, Ukarumpa 1976 (Workpapers in P.N.G. Languages, No. 20), I tried without much success to capture the essence of tagmemics. Hopefully the present attempt is a little more successful.

A. Basic outlook.

The study of

1. /language is basically a social science, not a mathematical science or a physical science (though it builds on physical articulation and uses mathematical organization).
2. Language is a living effective organism, not a precisely calibrated machine, so it is questionable whether mathematical formulas or computers can really capture or duplicate language (though formulas and computers can be very useful up to a point).
3. The best description of a language is that which most accurately and effectively portrays the living language, not necessarily that which is the neatest or most efficient or most elegant description.
4. There is no required notation form in which to describe language. Prose, formulas, trees, IC diagrams, wiring diagrams, flow charts, etc., are all equally valid to the degree that they are describing real language.
5. Hypothetical constructs are accepted as true descriptions of language only to the degree that it is necessary to postulate them in order to describe observable language.*
6. Theories cannot be tightly closed. Despite recent advances our ignorance about language is still vast, and until all the evidence is in we dare not call one set of theoretical concepts Truth or another set Error. The most that we can say is that one description is more complete or accurate than another. Theories should grow as knowledge increases. Thus a theory that is an openable system, leaving room to grow, is better than a closed system theory that must be discarded upon the receipt of new information. Some parts or parameters in language may be more easily closable than others.

B. Basic constructs

1. Language is a form/meaning composite (a hearer transforms form into meaning, and a speaker transforms meaning into form), so phonology

*(That is, unnecessarily deep structures tend to be avoided.)

(form, par excellence) and grammar-semantics (meaning, par excellence) are equally basic components.

2. Language tends to have hierarchical structure, with distinguishable levels, both in phonology and in grammar.

3. Language tends to have isolatable or movable units at each level.

4. Utterances frequently have recursion, level-skipping, and back-looping of levels.

5. Units frequently have clear centers but indistinct or merging borders. And similarly, levels will frequently have clear major patterns, but minor patterns may be on the borderline between levels.

6. The description of a unit is not complete without a description of its form(s), its meaning(s), and its occurrence rules and restrictions.

7. Units may be composed of strings of one or more smaller units.

8. The description of a language should include both the forms into which various meanings can be inserted (structural formulas), and the various forms into which a meaning can be cast (transformation formulas).

9. There are some kinds of structures or functions (prosodies)* which can be found on many or all levels of a hierarchy. These can be described either by levels or by functions (cross-level).

*(Such as negation, time, location, etc.)

FOOTNOTE

¹This summary owes much to various writings of K. L. Pike, R. E. Longacre, R. L. Watson, and others, and to various discussions with Barbara Hollenbach, Donald Frantz, Bruce Watters, Austin Hale, Elmer Wolfenden, George Huttar, and others.

SUBJECT/TOPIC TERMINOLOGY AND VECTORS¹

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1. Subject/topic vectors
2. Philippine subject/topic entities

Faced with the strikingly non-Indo-European structures in Philippine languages, linguists ever since Bloomfield (1917) have been groping for suitable terminology. McKaughan (1973), Li (1976, ed.), and Schachter (1977) have given us recent and lucid discussions, but we need to broaden our inquiry to include other ambiguous usage of the proposed terms, especially subject and topic, and to clarify the defining vectors.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the components which enter into subject/topic-like entities generally, and then discuss the major Philippine subject/topic entities and make terminological suggestions for them. A companion paper (Hohulin 1977) will discuss these principles from the standpoint of Keley-i. Our goal is not to restate or revise Keenan's (1976) universal definitions of subject and topic, rather it is an attempt to factor out the universal components that enter into subject/topic-like entities, with the realization that each language will combine₂ these components in a different way, resulting in a specific set of emic₂ subject/topic entities for each language.

1. Subject/topic vectors.

Three main kinds of components may be distinguished in the discussion of subject/topic/theme/focus entities, namely (1) structurally defined components, (2) semantically defined components, and (3) thematically defined components. Structural and semantic components of course enter into most definitions of other units too.

(1a) Linear position. Positions such as paragraph-initial, pre-subject, post-verb, or sentence-final may enter into definitions of linguistic entities such as for the English subject (pre-verb) or the German main verb (sentence-final).

(1b) Morphemic marking. Overt morphemes may mark classes of words or slots in a construction (Pittman 1965), such as the English adverb class marker -ly, the Latin subject marker -us, Tagalog ang, and the ako/ko/kanak contrastive pronoun sets of Mansaka.

(1c) Transformationally similar behavior. Entities may behave alike under transformation; thus Schachter (1977) makes extensive use

of relativization, quantifier floating, existentialization, imperativization, reflexivization, and ellipsis in his discussion of "subject".

(2a) Etically-defined roles (fine-grained categories). Etic (also called semantic or universal) role definitions, such as those given by Chafe, Grimes, Longacre, and others, are frequently used in definitions. Roles such as actor, agent, experiencer, essive, patient, destination, recipient, etc., often appear in discussions of "subject".

(2b) Emically-defined roles (gross, language-specific categories). Each language lumps together etic roles into a smaller number of emic roles, as reflected in the grammar. Emic roles appear in language-specific definitions.

(2c) Lexical prerequisites. Some items must have been previously mentioned (definiteness), others may require specific kinds of lexical items in the context.

(3a) Prominent thread, the semantic nucleus. The main thread of development of a discourse, its main plot, is often called the topic, theme, or subject. And similar in function are the main development in a paragraph or the propositional development within a sentence.

(3b) Prominent participant. This too is found on all or most levels of grammar. A narrative discourse usually has a hero, a hortatory or descriptive discourse has a main topic. A paragraph generally has one participant in focus, and a sentence generally has a topic. A clause generally puts one participant in focus, and a noun phrase, or a transformation from a NP, generally has one member functioning as the head of the construction.

(3c) Prominent slot. A string or a construction generally has one slot that carries inherent unmarked prominence (unless overridden by a type 3a or 3b prominence), and various participants or acts are potential fillers of that slot. Thus the climax slot of a discourse carries inherent prominence, as does also the peak of a paragraph, or the main clause of a sentence. In subjective languages like English the actor of a clause carries inherent prominence, while in ergative languages the patient is inherently prominent.

(3d) Prominent structural nucleus. Each level of grammatical structure tends to have a nuclear (i.e., structurally prominent) string and peripheral modifiers (Pittman 1948?). The structural nucleus tends to bear the topic or theme (i.e., the semantic development nucleus, 3a).

Subject/topic/theme/focus terms tend to be applied to thematically prominent items (3a-d), generally correlated with structural (1a-c) or semantic (2a-c) components or both.

The term subject is the most vexatious of these terms, having been used worldwide for two quite distinct notions, both of them hallowed by

grammatical centuries of usage. It has been used as a/role term, in contrast with verb, object, and indirect object, to refer to the performer of the action. And it has been used as a structural prominence term, in contrast with predicate, to refer to the NP directly dominated by the S node. In English the performer tends to be the prominent noun, but in Philippine languages there is no such link between these two notions. Hence confusion.

2. Philippine subject/topic entities.

There seem to be at least ten Philippine subject/topic entities for which we need distinctive terminology, or at least a clear descriptive identification, if we want to have clarity in our discussions. The following categories and terminological suggestions seem appropriate for many but not all Philippine languages. Each language must determine its own categories and appropriate terms (cf. Hohulin 1977).

(1) The etic performer of the action has been variously called agent (Chafe 1970:104), doer (Healey 1960:19), actor, or subject. This role contrasts with roles such as causer, experiencer, patient, essive, etc.. This clearly calls for semantic terminology, and either actor or agent would be suitable. Actor seems more semantically apt, but it has been widely used for meaning (2) below. Agent seems less apt (in ordinary usage an agent is always an agent for someone else, not the prime mover himself), but it has gained wide currency in linguistic circles, so is probably the term of choice here.

(2) The emic clustering of a variety of semantic roles into a single functional unit has led to the clustering of actor-agent-essive-experiencer-ambient-causer being called subject (McKaughan 1958; Miller & Miller 1967:65; Shetler 1976:49; Hohulin 1977), agent (McKaughan 1973:209), logical subject (Chomsky 1965:70), actor (Bloomfield 1933:172; McKaughan & Forster 1953:6-3; Hidalgo 1973:157), agent/preceiver/experiencer (APE) (Schwartz 1976:522), performer (Wolfenden oral comm.), protagonist (Schachter 1977). This is the Subject in the common formulations of strings in terms of Subject, Verb, Object, etc.. This would seem to call for a semi-semantic label, such as perhaps grammatical actor, emic actor, principal, or protagonist. All have their drawbacks: subject, if not used for meaning (3) below, is tempting here but would be sure to be misunderstood without careful definition, actor is widely used but doesn't quite fit (Schachter 1977), and protagonist is semantically satisfying but is a rare word so would hinder easy comprehension by the uninitiated. Actor would seem to be the term of choice. Thus we should speak of Actor-Verb-Object rather than Subject-Verb--Object.)

If it should be desired to distinguish the semantic role cluster from the surface item that manifests the semantic cluster, the semantic cluster could be called the semantic actor and the surface form the grammatical actor.

(3) The most prominent noun in a clause is often called the subject. It is the noun that is the most immediate constituent with the verb at the highest level in the clause (i.e., the NP directly dominated by S), and is generally pointed to by the verb affix and marked by ang (Tagalog ang, Mansaka yang, Keley-i hu, Maranao so, etc.). It has been variously called the focus (Dean 1958; Thomas 1958; Schwartz 1976:525; Hohulin 1977), subject (Bloomfield 1933:173; McKaughan 1973; Schwartz 1976:542), topic (McKaughan 1962; Forster 1964:26), topicalized constituent (Fillmore 1968:57), nominative (McKaughan & Forster 1953:6-3), focused tagmeme (Shetler 1976:130), focus complement (Pike 1963:217), theme (Halliday). This feature is the Subject in a Subject-Predicate analysis and the Topic in a Topic-Comment analysis. Subject is a very common term for this feature, but Schachter (1976) says that subject is not appropriate for Tagalog, as it doesn't fit some of Keenan's criteria for a subject. Focus is also common among Philippinists. Frequently it is said that the verb is focused toward a certain noun, but the noun itself is called the topic; this seems an unnecessary multiplication of terms, and I would think it better to say the verb is focused, and call the noun the focus. Subject would seem to be ultimately the best term here, if subject can manage to shake free from its association with meaning (2); but until that day arrives, focus would seem to be the best unambiguous term.

Usually the ang phrase (or its equivalent) is the most prominent participant in the clause. But occasionally there are clauses with two ang phrases or with no ang phrase at all. In such cases I would recommend that we call a simple prominent participant the focus (or subject), an ang-marked prominent participant the focus (or subject), and a simple ang-marked phrase an ang phrase.

The noun that is the center of attention in a nonverbal clause has been called the topic (Shetler 1976:14-). This would follow Topic-Comment terminology. But since current usage is tending to use topic for a sentence slot (4 below) and subject for a clause slot (3), I would consider nonverbal subject (nonverbal focus) more appropriate than nonverbal topic for this noun. This could well be considered a special case of subject where experiencer is substituted for actor but is still the prominent noun and an ang phrase.

(4) The most prominent participant (person, item, place, time) of the sentence is often marked by being moved in front of the verb, with or without an ay marker, by being stressed, or by being given special intonation. It has been variously called topic (McKaughan 1973:209; Li 1976), sentence topic (Longacre 1968), special emphasis (McKaughan 1962), emphatic noun (Pike 1962), identifier, fronted object. It is not necessarily part of the role frame of the main verb. Sentence topic would seem best for this, following current use of the term topic (Li 1976), but distinguishing it from paragraph topic and discourse topic.

But these components of fronting, ay-marking, stress, and intonation do not always work together, nor do they always mark sentence prominence. Where structural distinction is required, they could be labeled the fronted noun (or cleft subject), the ay-marked noun, the stressed noun,

and the raised pitch noun. Congruence of stress and intonation could be called emphasis.

Where semantic distinction is required, simple sentence prominence could be called topic, as this accords well with current usage. Contrastive sentence prominence, where the participant (or location) is being contrasted with the topic of a previous or following sentence, could be called contrastive topic. When fronting, etc., is used to mark the introduction of a new participant in the action, this could be called the new participant. And when a paragraph setting is added to the front of a sentence, this should be called paragraph setting, not topic.

(5) The item that is old information in a sentence has been called subject (Jackendoff 1972), given (Chafe 1976), definite (Cubar), old information (Halliday 1967:206ff.). The term of choice would seem to be old information. (Note that this is different from what Cubar calls specific, which is a noun with a definite referent.)

(6) The item that immediately follows the verb or is affixed to it has been referred to as the subject (McKaughan & Forster 1953:11-13), and there have been informal suggestions that it be called possessor. First postverbal position may sometimes manifest function (2) above, and sometimes (3), so a positional term such as first position or postverbal would be best.

(7) The item or participant that is the focus of attention in a paragraph (Longacre 1968; Miller & Miller 1976:148) in linguistic writings seems to be usually called topic, but in common speech is often referred to as subject. Paragraph topic would probably be the best term for this.

(8) The participant that is the center of a discourse has been called the topic (Longacre 1968), main character (Thomas 1971:210), theme (Miller & Miller 1976:171), subject, or hero. He is the member of the cast who is given top prominence. The term hero is obviously attractive and the term of choice in narratives. But in a procedural discourse such as on how to prepare yams (Miller & Miller 1976:158) it seems a little strained to call yams the hero, perhaps discourse topic would be best for general usage. The sentence topic, paragraph topic, and discourse topic are all types of participant prominence, so it would seem good to use parallel terms for them.

(9) The prominent thread of development of a discourse has been called the theme (Grimes), backbone (Hale, Longacre), topic, subject. Of these, backbone would be the least ambiguous term, but theme is more common and would seem to be the term of choice as long as it is clearly distinguished from the discourse topic (8), for which the term theme has also been often used. Where distinction between levels is desired, one can talk about the discourse theme, the paragraph theme, and the sentence theme.

(10) A further category of topic or theme is the purpose of the author in writing or telling a discourse. This has been called evaluative theme, conceptual theme (Thomas & Watson 1976). Since this material is thematic (i.e., it runs throughout the discourse) and is not always evaluative, the term conceptual theme would seem preferable.

In summary, the terminological confusion is wider than is sometimes recognized, and users of terms need to differentiate clearly between these different kinds of entities. Frequently entities in specific languages will combine two or more components in their definitions, but it is essential to have a clear understanding of the defining vectors if there is to be any lucid scientific discussion.

FOOTNOTES

¹ This paper is an outgrowth from discussions with Clay Johnston, Richard Gieser, and others at a workshop in 1975, and further benefited from presentation and discussion at a consultants' seminar in Manila, August 1977. I am indebted to Jannette Forster, Kenneth Gregerson, Elmer Wolfenden, and Lou Hohulin for reading various drafts and making very helpful suggestions.

² The etic/emic contrast is a contrast between universal perception and language-specific organization. Categories such as 'performer of a transitive action,' 'experiencer of an emotion,' 'initiator of a change of state,' etc., are etic categories, universally perceivable, because they are points in universal human perception of normal activities. Etic grids may be finely graded or coarsely graded, according to the needs and capabilities of the grader, but they are independent of specific languages. But categories such as 'subject of motion verbs in language X' or 'fronted nouns in language Y' are emic. Each language L makes its own emic restructuring of perceived etic situations, it reduces multiple etic categories into a small number of conveniently grouped categories; these resultant categories we call the emic categories of language L. Where it is found that all languages do a certain thing or share certain tendencies (such as Greenberg's universals), these put constraints both on the theoretical etic grids that linguists may construct and on the practical expectations of emic structures that may be encountered in languages.

³ Class markers could be considered a special case of construction markers defined transformationally rather than structurally, since, for example, English adverbs are identified not so much by their position in a single construction as by their similar functions in several constructions.

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COCONUT CULTIVATION AMONG THE YAKAN¹

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The purpose of this paper is to briefly describe the history of the introduction of coconuts among the Yakan on Basilan Island, the Yakan view concerning coconuts, some of their methods in coconut cultivation and harvesting, uses of the nut, its influence on Yakan economy, and a brief semantic description of Yakan words² concerning the coconut.

History and Introduction of Coconuts

In the later years of the 19th century a certain Datu Kalun established his influence among the Yakan of Basilan Island. He was a Tagalog from Cavite named Pedro Cuevas. Through his courage and quick action a battle between a Tausug force and the Spanish garrison in Isabela was prevented. As a reward he was made deputy governor of Basilan. The title of Datu Kalun was given to him by the Sultan of Jolo.

Datu Kalun wanted to improve the economy of the Yakan and so in about 1890 he introduced the systematic planting of coconut palms in Basilan.³ Many of the Yakan did not want to change their traditional ways of farming, which was primarily swidden cultivation and cattle raising, even though they were then having acute problems because of many cattle that had been dying of disease. Datu Kalun began forcing his subjects to plant fifty coconut seedlings per adult man, and threatened them with imprisonment if they would not comply. Young men were not allowed to get married if they had not planted their fifty coconuts.

It is said that some people planted even unripe coconuts just so as to follow the command. But most people planted them as they were told and today copra, the dried meat of the coconut, is the most valuable cash crop on Basilan, and is the main source for the relative wealth of the Yakan people.

Planting and Other Uses of Land

When a new grove is to be planted a number of ripe nuts (lahing laya') are kept near the house to sprout. Any ripe nut will sprout. It takes about two months for the shoot to come out of the nut. It grows out of the 'mouth', the one hole that is somewhat removed from the other two and has a soft membrane. The 'eyes', the other two holes, have a harder cover. When the leaves are about seventy-five centimeters long, or longer, they are taken to the plot where they are to be planted. Coconuts will grow in almost any soil. The new plants are placed into holes in straight lines about seven to eight meters apart. The nut is covered with soil, and sometimes the top part of the nut is

left exposed.

It takes from five to ten years for coconut palms to grow tall enough to bear fruit. Quite often the field is planted with rice, cassava or other crops when the coconuts are first planted. If nothing is planted, the weeds are cut periodically, either throughout the grove or at least near the trees.

Harvesting of the Nuts

Just before the first ripe nuts are ready for the first harvest in a grove, some people will call a Muslim priest (imam) to perform a thanksgiving ceremony (magdua'a). Prayers are said and afterwards a feast is held. But most people will go right ahead with the harvesting without performing the thanksgiving ceremony. Three or four spadices (de'ugan) with nuts will be ripe enough for making copra at the same time. The lowest ones will have a dark husk while the ones higher up may still be green. If they are not sure if some of the green nuts are ripe enough they will cut one off and shake it. By the sound of the water inside, one can know how ripe it is. The unripe nuts (beteng) are delicious to eat, and the water is very refreshing, but the meat is not firm enough for making copra.

The nuts of very young trees may still be reached by hand from the ground depending on the variety of palm. But usually the nuts are cut with a curved knife (sanggut) fixed on a long pole made of a certain kind of bamboo (lebbuk) which is especially light. For a tall tree up to five poles may be stuck into each other, fixed with wooden pegs and a strip of rubber. The whole thing is called a songget. It is difficult to balance the long pole, place it near the spadix and cut it with a jerking motion.

As the trees grow taller the nuts can no longer be reached with a pole and somebody has to climb the tree and cut the fruit with a big knife. To make it easier to climb, steps (tukad) are cut into the trunk. There are some very old, tall trees that people don't dare climb any longer because the top of the trunk is thin and it sways too much. Eventually the nuts drop off by themselves.

The nuts are cut off the stalks and gathered into piles. Then the harvester will fetch the nuts in a big basket (alat) on a carabao sledge and bring them to the hut (koprasan) where the copra is to be made.

Making Copra

The koprasan is an open hut with a split bamboo grate floor about one meter above the ground. Underneath is a hole of approximately the same size as the hut and about two meters deep.

Quite often the nuts are counted in order to have an estimate of how many sacks of copra they will give. Two hundred and fifty nuts make about one sack of copra, the sack containing about seventy kilograms. Nuts which mature in the dry season are smaller and yield less than those which mature during the rainy season.

Near the koprasan a narrow plowshare (mata badja') is fixed onto a heavy wooden tripod (manggu). In order to remove the husk (bunut) from the hard shell, the nut is slammed down on the point and the husk broken off. This has to be done from two to four times for each nut.

The husked nuts are then thrown onto another pile. Later they are split into halves with a heavy bolo. The water is simply spilled and the halves placed open side down onto the grate of the koprasan.

A fire is kindled in the pit underneath. It is fed with the coconut husks and shells. If it is fed with husks only, the copra does not dry very well and stays heavy, while if it is fed with the coconut shells only the fire is very hot and the copra is light. In the heat and smoke of the fire the meat of the nuts is slowly dried. It takes approximately a day and a half of drying before the meat is dry enough to be removed from the shell.

This is done with a roundish-edge iron instrument that is fixed to a low seat (lugitan). The almost dried meat is thrown back onto the grate and the fire rekindled with shells and husks. After a few more hours of drying the meat is done. It is reddish-brown in color and rubbery in consistency. It is now "copra".

This copra is then put into sacks, pounded down with a pestle to get more in, and finally the opening is sewn shut.

Every two and one-half to three months enough nuts will be ripe to make it worthwhile for making copra again.

Selling Copra and Its Place in Yakan Economics

When the copra is ready to sell the owner will contract a jeep or truck to take it to town to sell to a copra dealer. Yakan usually sell their harvests to the same dealer each time. If they are in need of money they will go first to their personal dealer (suki) to borrow. Then, the next time they bring copra to town the dealer will deduct the borrowed sum from the selling price plus the interest---usually from 120 to 180 percent. Often people get so deeply in debt that they never have any money in hand that is not borrowed. When they want to buy bigger items for the house, or jewelry for the daughters, etc., they usually say, "When we next make copra (and can get a new loan!)." But even though many people are deeply indebted, most are relatively secure, economically, as they have this steady source of income from their coconuts.

My informant told me that they make about twenty sacks of copra every three months, each sack weighing one hundred kilograms. In 1975 the price was about seventyfive pesos per kilo. In 1972 it was only forty pesos.

Other Uses of the Nut

Though making copra has by far the greatest economic value, the coconut can also be used in many other ways. All Yakan make their own cooking oil (isellan). The grated, white coconut meat is heated. The firm particles stay in the bottom of the cooking container, and the pure oil is above when the water is evaporated.

Coconut milk (gata') is used in cooking. To the grated meat some water is added. Then when it is squeezed, a milky, oily liquid comes out. There are many different ways for using it in cooking.

This milk is also used by women to beautify the hair. The milk is squeezed onto the hair and rubbed in (maglubi). After five to ten minutes the hair is rinsed out.

The finely grated meat, or thin strips, can also be cooked with spices and served as a dish with rice. There are many different ways to make sweet or savory delicacies with the coconut meat.

Uses of Other Parts of the Palm

Except for the roots all parts of the coconut palm can be used for something.

Right down at the base of the tree above the roots the part underneath the bark can be used as a substitute for a part of the betelnut chew.

The trunk may be used for posts and cross beams in more temporary buildings like a koprasan. The trunk is not durable enough, however, for regular house posts or beams. The trunk is sometimes used also for firewood.

The big midrib (peipa') also makes a very good firewood.

The ribs of the leaflets (tengkoleang) are used to make stick brooms, small baskets and, occasionally, as a part (liri) of the loom in weaving.

The leaves are frequently used for thatching and making walls (seirap). The big midrib is sliced off and the leaf split in half, then the leaflets are woven.

The leaves are also used for making baskets of different shapes (tempipi', bandi', japang) to carry fruit to the market.

Children make toys out of the leaflets like balls, windmills, etc. The leaflets also make nice covers for fruit (especially marang) and tobacco balls.

Some people use the dry leaflets as wrappers for their cigarettes.

For the celebration in the month of maulud a special type of decorated basket (seingkat) is made out of the unopened, still yellowish, leaf (lukey).

The spathe of the flower (lurang) is used as firewood, mainly when cooking rice cakes. The heat can be easily controlled as the lurang is thin. It is easily kindled and just as easily put out.

From the fiber that encloses the new leaf (labet) containers, a sort of sack is made. I was told that during the Japanese occupation in World War Two even clothes were made out of this fiber!

The husk (bunut) can be used as a brush to clean one's fingernails. Sawn in half, the husk is used for polishing floors.

The hard shell of the nut (ubag) is used as a container for just about anything, for measuring rice, to dish out rice, as a bowl, to dip water, etc.. A shell with only a small opening is used for fetching water, for bathing and also for drinking.

Coconut shells also make an excellent charcoal.

Varieties of coconuts:

<u>lahing</u>	the most common kind does not have a special name. It grows very tall, the fruit/husk is green.
<u>limba'</u>	the palm grows very tall, the fruit/husk is reddish.
<u>kappal</u>	doesn't grow very tall, husk is green.
<u>bulan</u>	average size, husk orange-yellow.
<u>busabug</u>	smaller fruit than most others, the meat remains soft even when the fruit is ripe. But it can be used for making copra.

The tree and its parts:

<u>gamut</u>	roots
<u>po'on</u>	the lower bigger part of the trunk
<u>batang</u>	trunk
<u>daven</u>	leaf
<u>labet</u>	fiber that encloses the new leaf, later on just hangs down from the leaf, looks as if woven
<u>lurang</u>	spathe of the flower
<u>da'ug/de'ugan</u>	spadix
<u>pentungey</u>	sidebranch of the stalk
<u>beibei</u>	flower (male)
<u>biluluk</u>	flower (female) and developing fruit
<u>kanga'</u>	nut, no meat yet, just water
<u>beteng</u>	soft meat, lots of water
<u>beteng ilanun</u>	harder than the beteng
<u>lahing gangkul</u>	meat is hard
<u>lahing laya'</u>	ripe nut
<u>putang</u>	hollow nut

The leaf and its parts:

<u>daven</u>	leaf
<u>dam pagung</u>	the midrib plus small leaves
<u>peipa'</u>	midrib
<u>kook peipa'</u>	lower wide part of midrib
<u>tengkoleang</u>	midrib of small leaflet
<u>lukey</u>	growing leaf
<u>langkey</u>	dry leaf that falls off

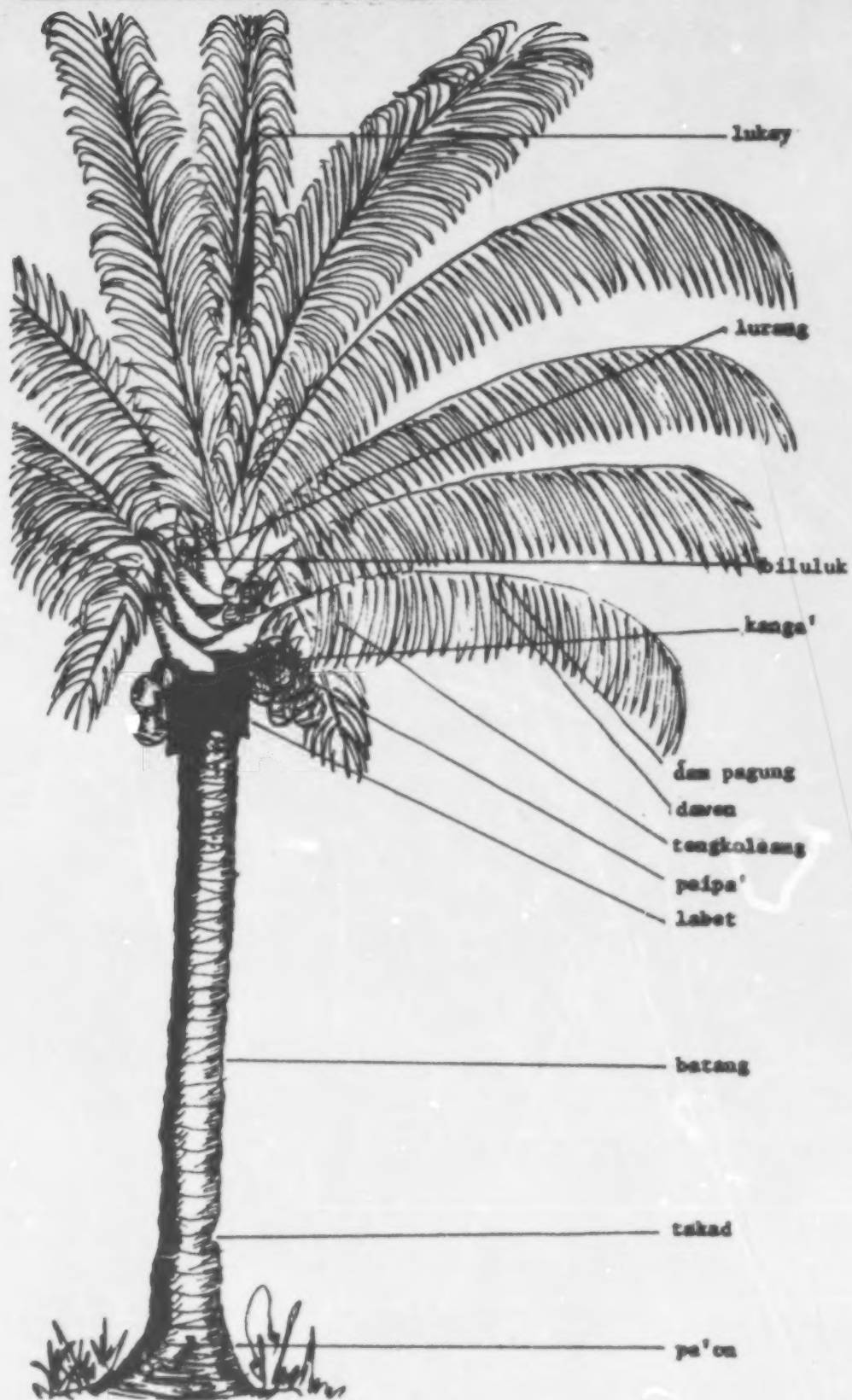
Fruit and parts:

<u>bunut</u>	husk
<u>tungkeb</u>	the little green leaves on top of the nut
<u>ubag</u>	hard shell
<u>isi</u>	meat

bohe' water
lambo the growing shoot inside the nut

Instruments used in making copra:

songget pole with knife for picking
mata badja' plowshare for dehusking
manggu tripod for the plowshare
koprasan hut where copra is made
lugitan instrument for taking the meat out of the shell



FOOTNOTES

¹The Yakan people number between 40,000 and 60,000, and live mainly on Basilan Island, in some parts of the Zamboanga peninsula and on some small offshore islands in the southwestern part of the Philippine archipelago. The data for this paper was gathered during my residence in Badja in the municipality of Lamitan, Basilan, from February 1971 to November 1972, and through most of 1975. The data was gathered during casual conversations with neighbours and my language assistants, and through participant observation. My sincere thanks are due At Sultan Moh Unding Shariful taha Kalun I (Pedro Cuevas Jr.) for sharing certain historical facts about the time of his father's rule in Basilan.

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Subsequent to the writing of this paper a reference was found referring to an earlier article on the subject of Yakan coconuts, by Inger Wulff (1970), written in Dutch. I have not yet seen that article.

²Yakan is an Austronesian language most closely related to the Sama-Badjaw group of languages spoken in the Sulu Archipelago. The letters of the alphabet correspond to the phonemic symbols except that velar nasal is written /ng/, glottal is written with a single quote sign, /'/, and the flapped rallophone of the phoneme /d/ is written as /r/. For a phonemic description of Yakan see Behrens 1975.

³This is not the only case of enforced introduction of coconuts upon a Muslim Filipino cultural community. See Eric Casino's account of how coconuts were introduced as a cash crop among the Jama Mapun (1967:22-23, and 1976:62). Casino also documents instances of other cases in the Philippines of the enforced introduction of coconuts on a large scale (1976:132). For a brief account of the introduction of coconuts onto Sakol Island by Yakan from Basilan, and a discussion of coconut farming there now, see Molony 1969:112-118.

⁴For a discussion of the suki system in the Philippines, see Davis 1973:216-234, and Szanton 1972:97-111.

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CEBUANO VERB MORPHOLOGY
an application of Case Grammar*

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Part I

1. Introduction

Case is a linguistic notion that describes the underlying or semantic relationships that exist between verbs and nouns or noun phrases. The existence of case is revealed in surface structure by the affixation of the verb and the determiner-markings of the accompanying nouns.

This paper will attempt to do two things:

- a) develop a set of phrase structure rules that will show the derivational history of the verb and all possible types of affixation; and
- b) formalize the transformations that map underlying or semantic structures onto surface verbal morphological structures.

This study was based on a corpus composed of approximately 1,400 verbs selected from Wolff's Cebuano dictionary (Wolff 1971). Only the verbs in the writer's speaking vocabulary were included. Before a) and b) above could be accomplished the following had to be done:

- a) The allowable cases that occur with each verb had to be determined.
- b) The verbs were categorized according to the nature of their case environments.
- c) The non-case non-aspectual affixes (the specialization affixes) were determined for each verb.

Case Grammar was the model used for analysis. Fillmore's (1968, 1970) and Cook's (1971) models were extended and modified to be able to handle the problems under consideration. One important deviation from Fillmore has to do with the treatment of case. Fillmore assigns case in the Phrase Structure; this study considers it as features of verbs, that is, case belongs in the lexicon.

The study has shown that Cebuano verbal morphology is rule-governed. It also has shown that semantics plays a significant part in dictating the final surface form of the verb. This means that verbal affixation is semantically motivated; that is, there is a corresponding

*This article was based on my dissertation (Luzares 1975). This issue includes only the discussion on Phrase Structure Rules; Transformations will be included in the next issue.

semantic reason behind the verb's choice of affix.

The language features that have been found to affect verbal affixation are: case, aspect, and specialization. Plurality also does, to a limited extent.

There are two kinds of specializations that the study came up with: the Basic specialization and the Secondary specialization. Basic specialization refers to the change in the affixation of the verb when the Agentive, the Neutral or the Motive case is marked +Topic. This rule accounts for the difference between

- (1) kanqun nakuq ang mangga
'I'll eat the mango.'

and

- (2) ilabay nakuq ang mangga
'I'll throw away the mango.'

where the topicalized (or the surface subjects) actants are both Neutral cases yet the verbs are affixed differently (i.e., -un and i-). The explanation is that the verbs affect the Neutral mangga differently in these two sentences; it is Directly Affected in (1) while it is the object transferred (Portative) in (2). The other Basic specializations are Casual and Volitional which pertains only to the Agentive when it is chosen +Topic. Casual and Volitional account for the difference between mag- and mu-. Directly Affected, Indirectly Affected and Portative respectively account for the difference in -un, -an, and i- when the topicalized actant is a Neutral or a Motive. (These Basic specializations are discussed in 3.11.)

Secondary specialization refers to the non-case non-aspectual means by which the meaning of the verb may be 'specialized' or made more specific. There are twelve secondary specializations: Ability, Ability/Involuntary, Intensive, Intensive Accidental Result, Moderative, Frequentative, Destructive Action, Habitual/Occupational, Transitory, Simultaneous Involuntary Reciprocal, Reciprocal and Simultaneous Involuntary Reciprocal/Reciprocal. Many of these secondary specializations are realized as affixes; some involve reduplication and stress shifts. (The Secondary specializations are discussed in 3.12.)

The study came up with ten transformational rules that explain the derivation of a surface affix verb. Two significant related transformations were formulated to account for the similarities of sentences like (3) and (4).

- (3) magpabalay sila sa sunud tuqig
(4) magpahimuq sila ug balay sa sunud tuqig

Both (3) and (4) mean

- (5) They will have a house built next year.

Both also contain the abstract verb CAUSE (an abstract verb is defined as a verb that exists in the semantic consciousness of the speakers but which does not receive lexicalization in the language). The difference lies in that (3) does not contain the higher verb himuq while (4) does. Before (4) can become (3) the following transformations have to take place:

- Unspecified Actant Deletion - This deletes the unspecified Agent of himuq 'make'.
- Case Copying - This copies balay 'house' under the V node (the node of himuq).
- Original Case Deletion - This deletes the original balay after it has been copied under the V node.
- V Raising - This raises balay (which has been attached to the V node) to the right of CAUSE.

CAUSE is realized in surface structure as the affix pa-.

In the above example, the verb himuq has been replaced in surface structure by the accompanying actant balay. In this study, a verb like himuq is called a replaceable verb, i.e., it is a verb that allows itself to be replaced by one of its accompanying actants. A number of replaceable verbs exist in Cebuano. A number of abstract verbs have also been posited for this language.

This study has shown that morphology is not independent of syntax and semantics. Although it has not clearly given an answer to the question regarding the place of morphology in the linguistic framework, it has shown that wherever it is located, it must have access to semantics and syntax.

2. The Cases Used

This study found it necessary to posit 21 cases to define the different verb-actant relations identified in the analysis of the 1,400 verbs. These cases are defined and illustrated in this section.

Agentive (A), the case that designates the 'object or being which carries out the action identified by the verb' (Diller 1971:400). This definition includes both volitional and non-volitional Agents.

nagkaqun ang bataq ug dulsi
'The child is eating candy.'

gihigtan niya ug lastiku ang iyang buhuk
'She tied her hair with a rubber band.'

gipalid sa hangin ang papil
'The wind blows away the paper.'

Associative (As), which expresses the animate being who joins or associates with another animate being in carrying out the action identified by the verb.

nakigqinum siya sa mga bisita
'He joined the guests in drinking.'

ibayli ni Juan si Teresa
'Juan will dance with Teresa.'

muquban ku niya sa tyanggi
'I will accompany him to the market.'

Benefactive (B), 'the case of the animate being for whose benefit the action identified by the verb is carried out' (Diller 1971:179).

palitan ku siya ug munyika sa iyang adlaw
'I will buy her a doll on her birthday.'

maglutuq aku ug biku para nimu ugmaq
'I will cook biku for you tomorrow.'

salinan ku siya ug pagkaqun
'I will leave him some food.'

Cause (C), which 'provides the reason why the action or state identified by the verb has, is, or will occur' (Diller 1971:187).

mitambuk siya sa bitamina
'He became stout because of the vitamins.'

nahubug aku sa tubaq
'I got drunk because of the tubaq.'

Experiential (E), the case of the animate noun that is affected by the psychological state or condition expressed by the verb.

nasukuq siya nakuq
'She is/was angry with me.'

gimingaw siya sa iyang manga anak
'She misses/missed her children.'

Goal (G), the case of the actant 'which indicates either (a) the object, being, or place toward which the action or state is directed, or (b) the actual recipient of the action indicated by the verb' (Diller 1971:244).

gihatag nila sa irug ang panqus nga pagkaqun
'They gave the spoiled food to the dog.'

nidagan ang bataq ngadtu sa iyang nanay
'The child ran to his mother.'

gisulatan niya ang iyang tratu
'He wrote to his girlfriend.'

Instrumental (I) 'which marks the actant which expresses the object or being which is used as an instrument in carrying out the action or state identified by the verb' (Diller 1971:250).

gibunalan niya sa lipak ang bataq
'He beat the child with the stick.'

giputul niya ug kahuy ang sundang
'He cut wood with the bolo.'

gihadluk niya ang manga bataq sa aswang
'He frightened the children with a witch.'
(e.g. by means of witch stories)

Locative (L), 'the case which identifies the location or spatial orientation of the state or action identified by the verb' (Fillmore 1968:25).

naghilak siya sa kwartu
'She is/was crying in the room.'

gipakatulgan niya sa bataq ang supa
'She made/allowed the child to sleep on the sofa.'

nanangaw sila ng sini sa Town.
'They want to see a movie at the Town theater.'

Mensural (ME), the case of the actant which expresses the 'extent or amount of the activity identified in the verb' (Diller 1971:267).

iquswag ug usa ka dupa ang atop
'Raise the roof by a fathom.'

lakwun lang niya ang lima ka kilumitru ngadtu sa lungsud
'He will just walk the five kilometers to town.'

hangyuqun nakug pisu ang saging
'I will bargain the banana for one peso.'

Motive (MO), the case that expresses the motive for which an agent performs the action indicated by the verb.

kanaqugun nakuq ang bula
'I will go down for the ball (i.e., to get the ball).'

adtuqun ku si Dolores sa bangku
'I will go to the bank to see Dolores.'

pamasiyuhan ta ka sa sunud simana
'I will come around to see you next week.'

Motive is not to be confused with Neutral (Fillmore's Objective) although the verb receives the same surface affix when they are chosen Topic. The Neutral actant cannot occur in the slot para sa X 'for X'. That is, (6) is grammatical but (7) is not. Only an actant fulfilling a Motive role can occur in the environment of para sa X in (6) and (7).

(6) mukanaqug aku para sa bula
'I will go down for the ball.'

(7) *mukaqun aku para sa saging
'*I will eat for the banana.'

Sentences (8) and (9), however, are both grammatical.

(8) kanaqugun nakuq ang bula
'I will go down for the ball.'

(9) kanqun nakuq ang saging
'I will eat the banana.'

Neutral (N), which indicates the object, being, or place 'affected by the action or state identified by the verb' (Diller 1971:167).

giquinun niya ang tambal
'He took the medicine.'

namatay ang babuy kay gihiluqan
'The pig died because it was poisoned.'

nagkagwapa si Perla
'Perla is/was becoming pretty.'

Norm (NO), the case of the actant which expresses the object or being which is used as a standard or norm with which another being or object is compared.

nakalapaw na sa saging ang lubi
'The coconut tree has grown taller than the banana tree.'

niliwat siya sa iyang inahan
'He took after his mother.'

parihuqun nakuq ang akung sininaq sa imu
'I will make my dress like yours.'

Partitive (PT), the case of the actant which expresses the body-part which is affected by the action or state identified by the verb.

naglabad ang akung ulu
'My head aches.'

gisakitan aku ug tiyan
'I have a stomachache.' (Literally, I feel pain
in my stomach.)

gisumbag niya si Pedro sa likud
'He boxed Pedro in the back.'

Product (PR), expresses the object that results from the action identified by the verb.

lutuqun nakug biku ang pilit
'I will make biku out of the malagkit.'

himuqun nilang lungsud ang baryu
'They will make the barrio into a town.'

maghimuq kug munyika aning tinabas
'I will make a doll out of these strips of cloth.'

Referential (R), which designates the object, being or situation 'which the action or state identified by the verb is expressed to be in relation or reference to' (Diller 1971:288).

gikaqulqan niya ang paglayas sa iyang anak
'She grieves over her son's leaving home.'

gitugqanan ku siya sa tinuqud
'I told him the truth.'

nagkasabut na nila sa prisyu
'They have already agreed about the price.'

Reservational¹ (RV), the case of the actant which expresses the object reserved for use only in performing the action identified by the verb or in observing the event identified by the time actant.

ipamayli ni Jose ang iyang bagqung barung
'Jose will wear his new barung to the dance.'

ikaliguq niya ang iyang bikini
'She will swim (lit. take a bath) in her bikini.'

giqiskuyla lang niya ang iyang bulingung sininaq
'He went to school in his dirty clothes.'

Source (SO), which 'expresses the object, being or place which is the origin of the action or state identified by the verb' (Diller 1971:309).

mangayug akug pinaskuhan sa akung maninay
'I will ask my godmother for a Christmas present.'

muqabut si Pedro gikan sa syudad ugmaq
'Pedro will arrive from the city tomorrow.'

gikuhaqan niya ug ulud ang rusis
'She removed the worms from the roses.'

Substitutive (SU), 'the case of the animate being in whose place the ACTOR (i.e., the actant in the Agentive case) performs the action identified in the verb' (Diller 1971:179). (The examples below are in the imperative because it is in imperative sentences that the Substitutive is most distinguishable).

idala ku sa libru dinhi
'Bring the book here for me.'

ibantay ku sa bataq ug kadyut
'Watch the child for a while for me.'

ibasa ra ku aning sulata
'Please read this letter for me.'

The Substitutive and the Benefactive are indistinguishable when the Agentive is Topic. For example, in

- (10) nagpalit si Bert ug saging para kang Rosa
'Bert bought bananas for Rosa.'

Rosa is either the person for whom the bananas were bought (Benefactive) or in whose stead they were bought (Substitutive). However, when Rosa is topic the meaning becomes disambiguated.

- (11) palitan ni Bert ug saging si Rosa
'Bert will buy bananas for Rosa (i.e., he will spend his money but will give the bananas to Rosa).'
(12) ipalit ni Bert ug saging si Rosa
'Bert will buy bananas for Rosa (i.e., Rosa will give him money for the bananas).'

Time (TM), the case of the actant which refers to the temporal orientation of the state or action expressed by the verb.

sa sunud simana siya muqabut
'He will arrive next week.'

matulug siyag adlaw mutrabahu siyag gabi
'He sleeps during the day; he works at night.'

naghilak siya sa paggabut ku
'She was crying when I arrived.'

Title (T), 'the case of the actant which refers to the name given to a person or to the office, or position that a person holds, held, or is seeking' (Diller 1971:275).

ginganlan siyag bayut sa iyang mga amigu
'His friends called him sissy.'

mulansad siya pagkagubirnadur
'He will run for governor.'

mubutu ku niya pagkaprisidinti
'I will vote for him for president.'

Victim (V), the case of the actant which designates the being who suffers the consequences of the action identified in the verb.

namatyan sila ug lima ka babuy
'They lost five pigs.'

nesunugan sila niqadtung usang tuqig
'They were victims of a fire the other year.'

nakuqutan aku sa Quiapo
'I was a victim of a pickpocket in Quiapo.'

3. The Phrase Structure Rules

This section gives the set of rules that is responsible for generating the verb in its different types of affixed states. These rules generate only the verbal affixes that are included in the writer's dialect.

3.1. S -----> Mod Prop

This initial rule rewrites a sentence as a Modality and a Proposition. An embedded sentence (i.e., a lower S in the phrase structure tree) may be generated from an actant that is either +N, +C, or +R, or +I.

3.2. Prop -----> V AC_n

Proposition is rewritten as a verb and an n array of actants. Cebuano allows only 4 cases, aside from the Cause, Time and Locative, in any one sentence. The occurrence of Cause, Time and Locative are unrestricted when they occur as subordinate clauses or time and locative adverbials.

Proposition is not developed further in this paper since the concern here is primarily the morphological problem and since cases are to be indicated as features of verbs.

3.3. Mod -----> (Imp) (Neg) Affix

Modality is rewritten with Imperative and Negative as optional constituents and with Affix as an obligatory constituent. Imperative and Negative both affect the morphology of the verb as is shown by the fact that on the surface the verb is marked differently when the S is Imperative and/or Negative.

3.3.1. Imperative

An imperative S contains an Agentive (the 'understood you') in the underlying structure. Except when the addressee is plural, this 'understood' Agent does not surface in Cebuano, unlike in Tagalog. In Cebuano, only (13) is truly an imperative S, (14) may also be interpreted as declarative S.

- (13) ihatud si Eden sa iskuylahan
'Take Eden to school.'

- (14) ihatud nimu si Eden sa iskuylahan
'You will take Eden to school.'

The verb in imperative sentences like (13) takes one of three affixes (other forms follow the affixation of non-imperative non-negative verbs):

- a when the topicalized actant is N and the verb specialized as DA²
- i when the topicalized actant is AS, SO, B, G, L or N when the verb is specialized as IAF
- i- when the topicalized actant is I, SU or N when the verb is specialized as P

3.3.2. Negative Imperative

Verbs in negative imperative S's have the following form:

$$\text{ayaw} + \text{Base} + \begin{Bmatrix} \text{i-} \\ \text{-i} \\ \text{-a} \end{Bmatrix}$$

The restrictions concerning the choice of affix are the same as those in non-negative imperative S's discussed above. (3.3.1.)

- (15) ayaw ihatag sa bataq ang kutsilyu (N-Portative)
'Don't give the knife to the child.'

- (16) ayaw siyag (SU) ikuhaq ug tubig
'Don't get water for him.'

- (17) ayawg idukduk sa lansang ang sundang (I)
'Don't pound the nail with the bolo.'
- (18) ayawg ibayli si Rosa (AS)
'Don't dance with Rosa.'
- (19) ayawg hugasi ang iyang gikangan (N-IAF)
'Don't wash the utensils he ate with.'
- (20) ayawg hiwaqi ang cake (SO)
'Don't slice a portion of the cake.'
- (21) ayawg hatagi ug kwarta ang bataq (C)
'Don't give the child money.'
- (22) ayawg lingkuri ang gubang silya (L)
'Don't sit on the old chair.'
- (23) ayawg imna ang akung Pepsi (N-DA)
'Don't drink my Pepsi.'

3.3.3. Negative Non-Imperative

Negative sentences take different negative markers depending on the aspect of the verb. Cebuano has three negative markers:

diliq, which goes with -Perfective verbs

walaq, which goes with +Perfective verbs

ayaw, which appears only in imperative S's

When diliq or walaq appears in S's where the Agentive actant is marked +Topic, the verb appears in the infinitive form. This seems to suggest that whenever these two negative markers appear, either aspect moves from the verb to the negative marker or the verb loses its aspect.³

- (24a) muqadtu siya sa Manila ugmaq
'He will go/is going to Manila tomorrow.'
- (24b) niqadtu siya sa Manila kagahapun
'He went to Manila yesterday.'
- (25a) diliq siya muqadtu sa Manila ugmaq
'He won't go/isn't going to Manila tomorrow.'
- (25b) walaq siya muqadtu sa Manila kagahapun
'He didn't go to Manila yesterday.'
- (25c) *walaq siya niqadtu sa Manila kagahapun
'He didn't go to Manila yesterday.'

The same phenomenon exists in the following situations:

- (a) When the neutral actant is +Topic and when the verb is specialized as Portative
- (b) When the Substitutive actant is +Topic
- (c) When the Instrumental actant is +Topic

Observe the following sentences.

- (26a) ibilin nakuq ang libru (N-Portative) kang Rebecca
'I will/am going to leave the book with Rebecca.'
- (26b) gibilin nakuq ang libru (N-Portative) kang Rebecca
'I left the book with Rebecca.'
- (27a) diliq nakuq ibilin ang libru (N-Portative) kang Rebecca
'I will not/am not going to leave the book with Rebecca.'
- (27b) walaq nakuq ibilin ang libru (N-Portative) kang Rebecca
'I didn't leave the book with Rebecca.'
- (28a) ipalit nakuq ug sapatus ang kwarta (I)
'I will/am going to buy shoes with the money.'
- (28b) gipalit nakuq ug sapatus ang kwarta (I)
'I bought shoes with the money.'
- (29a) diliq nakuq ipalit ug sapatus ang kwarta (I)
'I won't/am not going to buy shoes with the money.'
- (29b) walaq nakuq ipalit ug sapatus ang kwarta (I)
'I didn't buy shoes with the money.'
- (30a) ikuhaq niya aku (SU) ug tubig
'He will get water for me.'
- (30b) gikuhaq niya aku (SU) ug tubig
'He got water for me.'
- (31a) diliq niya aku (SU) ikuhaq ug tubig
'He won't/is not going to get water for me.'
- (31b) walaq niya aku (SU) ikuhaq ug tubig
'He didn't get water for me.'

The following table summarizes the verbal affixes and the markers that occur in negative S's when the topicalized actant is not an Agentive.

Table I

Verbal Affixes in Negative Non-Imperative Sentences
(only when Topic is not +A)

Affix	Aspect		Topic									
	+Perf (walaq)	-Perf (diliq)	+N DA	+Mo IAF	P	+E	+I	+SU	+B	+SO	+G	+L
i-	x	x			x							
	x	x					x					
	x	x						x				
-i	x											x
	x										x	
	x									x		
	x								x			
	x			x								
-a	x		x									
	x					x						
-un		x	x									
		x				x						
-an		x									x	
		x		x								
		x								x		
		x										x
ma-	x	x				x						

The following sentences illustrate -un, -a and -i, and -an (i- has been given illustrations above).

- (32) diliq ni Jose basahun ang libru
'Jose won't/isn't going to read the book.'
- (33) walaq ni Jose basaha ang libru
'Jose didn't read the book.'
- (34) diliq siya gutumun dayun
'He doesn't get hungry easily.'
- (35) walaq siya gutuma kay daghan ang iyang gikaqun kaganina
'He isn't hungry because he ate a lot earlier.'
- (36) walaq nila ugbuki ug balay ang ilang yutag
'They didn't build a house on their land.'
- (37) walaq niya agawi ug bula ang bataq
'He didn't take away the ball from the child.'
- (38) walaq niya tapaki ang iyang karsunis
'He didn't patch his trousers.'
- (39) walaq niya himuqi ug balaybalay ang bataq
'He didn't make the child a toy house.'
- (40) walaq ni Ramon dadqi ug ilimnun si Marta
'Ramon didn't bring Marta a drink.'
- (41) diliq niya sulatan ug balak si Rosita
'He won't/isn't going to write a poem for Rosita.'
- (42) diliq ni Pedro ilisan ang iyang sininaq
'Pedro won't/isn't going to change his clothes.'
- (43) diliq pugasan ug maqis ang ileng uma
'They won't/aren't going to plant corn in their farm.'
- (44) diliq nakuq batagan ug kwarta ang tigulang
'I won't/am not going to give the old man/woman money.'
- (45) diliq siya mahadluk ug ilagaq
'She is not afraid of rats.'
- (46) walaq siya mahadluk sa ilagaq
'She wasn't afraid of the rat(s).'

3.4. Affix ----→ { Aspect
Tense } Topic (Specialization)

Affix has two obligatory constituents (Aspect or Tense and Topic) and one optional constituent (Specialization). Aspect is chosen by non-

state verbs; state verbs choose Tense. Tense indicates whether the state is past or present; aspect indicates whether the action is completed or not, and if not, whether it has been begun or not. While kaqun 'eat' can be described as whether it is completed or not, begun or not, tambuk 'fat' cannot. It can only be described as whether the state is present or it is not.

Topic, as used in this paper, is a semantic construct which entails one or all of the following: emphasis (Zorc and Cruz 1968), definitization (Schachter and Otnes 1972:60), or -new information (Chafe 1970).⁴ It is different from subject in that while subject is a surface grammatical function, topic is a deep structure function. In other words, the notion topic is whatever the answer may be to the question: Why does the speaker choose to subjectualize actant X instead of actant Y? At the surface, topic is realized as the actant preceded by ang/si and is reflected in the verb by its affix.

This study accepts the assumption that transformations are meaning-preserving. This means that all meanings are to be indicated in the deep structure and that transformations do not change the semantic make-up of the sentence. The subjectualization transformation, for example, should merely attach the proper determiners to the proper actants and the proper verbal affix to the verb.

There are two sources of the topic information - the Topic node (this takes care of the proper surface marking of the verb) and the particular actant node chosen as topic (this takes care of the proper choice of determiners in surface structure). (Please refer to 3.14 for illustration).

3.5. Aspect -----> + Perfective

A Cebuano verb is either in the perfective or imperfective aspect. Verbs which have a +perfective aspect denote action or state that has been begun and completed while those which have a -perfective aspect denote action or state that either has been begun but not completed or has not been begun at all.

3.6. + Perfective -----> + Recent

Verbs in the +recent come out in the surface as maqu pa + y (remnant of ang) + pag- + verb base. This aspect has to be indicated because it has consequence in the detopicalization transformation (cf. 3.9).

3.7. - Perfective -----> + Begun

A verb with a -perfective aspect may either be begun or not begun.

The table that follows summarizes the aspectual affixes of the Cebuano verb.

Table II

Aspectual Affixes of Cebuano Verbs

- Perfective		+ Perfective
Not Begun	+ Begun	
ma-	nagka-	
mu-	nag(a)-	
nag-	nag(a)-	
-an	gi(na)-...-an	
-un	gi(na)-	
i-	gi(na)	
maN-	naN-/nagpaN-	
		na-
		ni-/ni-/hing-
		nag-
		gi- ... -an
		gi-
		gi-
		naN-

The following are sample sentences to illustrate these affixes:

- (47a) matulug ang bataq ug sayu
'The child sleeps early.'
- (47b) nagkatulug pa ang bataq
'The child is/was still sleeping.'
- (47c) natulug ku ug sayu kagabiqi
'I slept early last night.'
- (48a) mukaqun ku ug paniqudtu
'I'll/am going to eat lunch.'
- (48b) nagkaqun pa kug paniqudtu
'I'm/I was still eating lunch.'
- (48c) nikaqun na kug paniqudtu
'I already ate lunch.'
- (49a) maghulat ku ug dyip sa iskina
'I'll wait for a jeepney at the corner.'
- (49b) naghulat pa aku sa imung tubag
'I'm still waiting for your answer.'
- (49c) naghulat ku nimu ug traynta minutos
'I waited for you for thirty minutes.'
- (50a) lungqagun nakuq ang kamuti
'I will boil the camote.'

- (50b) ginalungqag na niya ang kamuti
'She is already boiling the camote.'
- (50c) gilungqag na ang kamuti
'The camote has already been boiled.'
- (51a) tilapan niya ang iyang tudluq
'He will lick his finger.'
- (51b) ginatilapan niya ang iyang tudluq
'He is licking his finger.'
- (51c) gitilapan sa iruq ang hugaw
'The dog licked off the dirt.'
- (52a) ihatag kini niya sa maqistra
'He will give this to the teacher.'
- (52b) ginahatag niya sa bataq ang iyang dulsi
'He is giving his candy to the child.'
- (52c) gihatag ni Pedro kang Perla ang libru
'Pedro gave the book to Perla.'
- (53a) manglaba ka ugmaq
'You will wash clothes tomorrow.'
- (53b) tuqa sa subaq si Petra nagpanglaba
'Petra is at the river washing clothes.'
- (53c) nanglaba ku dinhi kagahapun
'I washed clothes here yesterday.'

3.8. Tense -----> + Past

State verbs are ambiguous as to Tense in surface structure. That is, (54), (55) and (56) may be interpreted as +past or -past. However, there is no doubt that the speaker chooses one of these tenses when he utters these sentences.

- (54) kagwapa sa babayi
'How beautiful the woman is/was!'
- (55) maqistra si Soledad
'Soledad is/was a teacher.'
- (56) tambuk ang babuy
'The pig is/was fat.'

3.9. Topic ----->

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} +A \\ +N \\ +G \\ +B \\ +SO \\ . \\ . \\ . \end{array} \right\}$$

One of the actants accompanying the verb will be chosen + Topic in the underlying structure. This actant surfaces as the subject; that is, it is marked by the determiner ang or si. There are a number of instances when the surface sentence does not exhibit a subject. Two of these are when the sentence is exclamative or when the aspect is + recentive. When this happens the Detopicalization Transformation operates so that sentences like the following are produced:

- (57) *kalamiq sa imung adubu*
'How delicious your adobo is/was!'

- (58) *maqu pay pagqabut sa manga bisita*
'The visitors have just arrived.'

The following sentences are ungrammatical because the Detopicalization Transformation has not operated:

- (59) **kalamiq ang imung adubu*
'How delicious your adobo is/was!'

- (60) **maqu pay pagqabut ang manga bisita*
'The visitors have just arrived.'

The other instances when the surface sentence does not contain a surface subject may be explained as a result of a deletion transformation (cf. 4.4.).

The Cebuano surface sentence is characterized by the presence of one subject (i.e., one "underlying topic") or by the absence of a subject. The latter case is explained as resulting either from the detopicalization transformation or from the deletion of the actant which should have surfaced as the subject. One however, finds a few sentences that contain two subjects - one coming from the higher S and the other from the embedded S. These are illustrated by the following sentences.

- (61) *gustu siyang patyun ang tulisan*
'He wants/wanted the robber killed.'

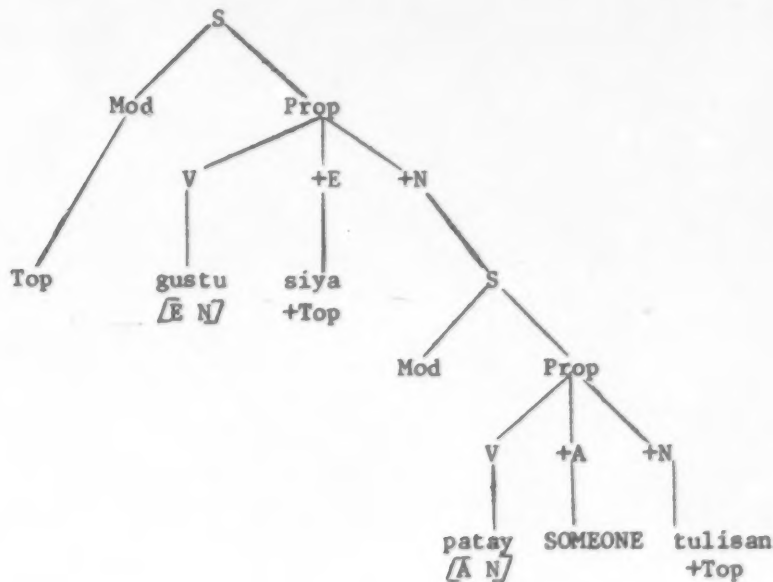
- (62) *gustu niyang patyun ang tulisan*
'He wants/wanted to kill the robber.'

(63) *gustu siyang maliguq (siya)*
 'He likes to take a bath (i.e., it is his habit to take a bath).'

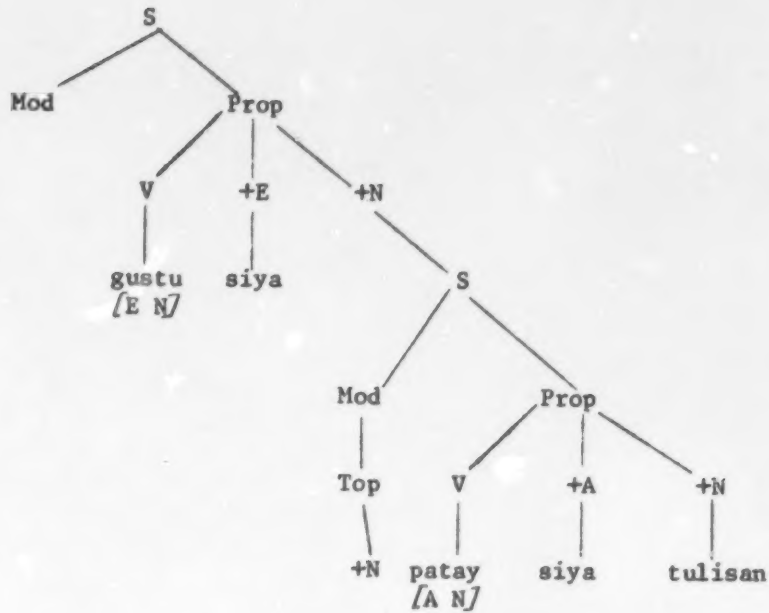
(64) *gustu niyang maliguq (siya)*
 'He wants/wanted to take a bath (e.g., now/yesterday).'

Obviously, (61) and (63), which both contain two underlying topics, are different from (62) and (64), which contain only one underlying topic. The underlying structures of these sentences are (65), (66), (67) and (68) respectively.

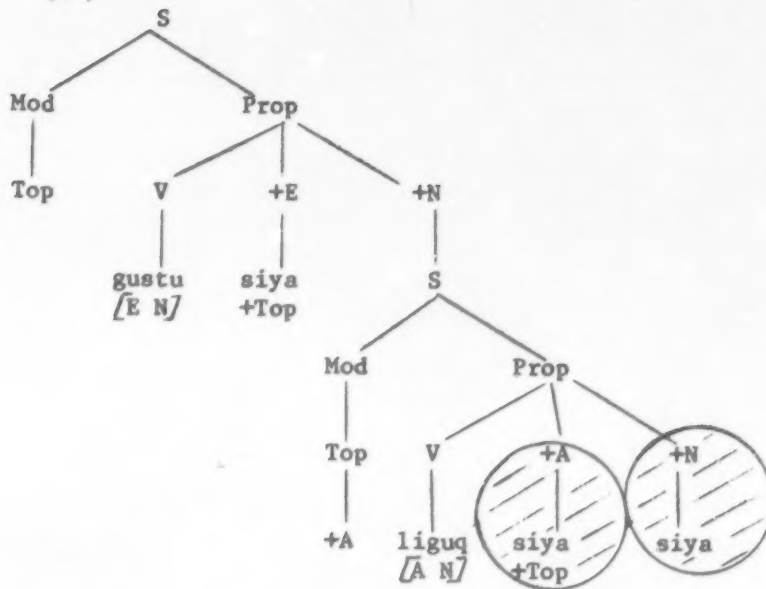
(65)

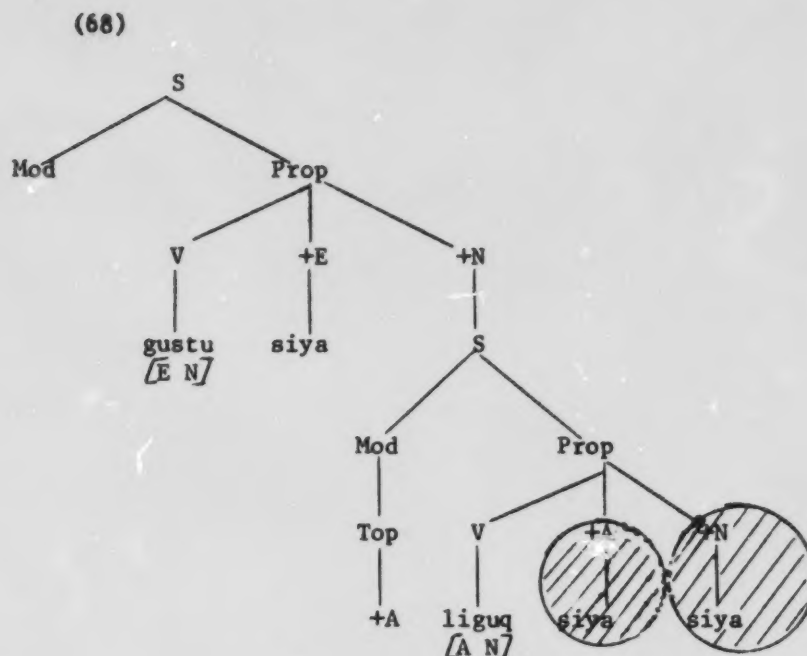


(66)



(67)





The shaded areas are later deleted by appropriate transformational rules.

On the basis of the preceding discussion, one can assume that Cebuano allows two underlying topics to surface as subjects provided they do not come from the same simplex. This constraint does not allow the generation of sentences like (69).

(69) *gikuhaq ang bataq ang bula
'The child got the ball.'

3.10. Specialization $\longrightarrow$ { Basic
Secondary }

The meaning of the verb is specialized in two ways - by means of the Basic Specialization and/or by means of the Secondary specialization. Basic specialization is chosen to account for the change in the affixation of the verb when the Agentive, the Neutral or the Motive case is marked +Topic.

For example, mu-, ma-, mag- and maN- may be used to signal that the underlying topic (or the surface subject) is the Agentive actant. What the verb chooses from among these four affixes is explained by the Basic specialization rule. In other words, the choice is semantically motivated. These affixes are therefore not freely substitutable.

The following table shows how the different case-related verbal affixes are distributed among the cases.

Table III

Distribution of Case-Related Verbal Affixes

Affixes Topic- alized Actants	mu-	ma-	mag-	maN-	i-	-un	-an	ma ka-	ma -an	ma kiq-
+A	x	x	x	x						x
+AS					x					
+B							x			
+C								x		
+E		x				x				
+G							x			
+I					x					
+L							x			
+ME						x				
+MO					x	x	x			
+N	x	x			x	x	x			
+NO							x			
+PR						x				
+PT					x					
+R					x					
+RV					x					
+SO							x			
+SU					x					
+V							x		x	

The table shows that except for Experiential, the only topicalized actants that are signalled in the surface structure by more than one affix are the Agentive, the Neutral and the Motive. The topicalized Experiential actant

takes ma- when it does not occur with an Agent; otherwise it takes -um.

The secondary specialization is not limited to the Agentive, the Neutral or the Motive only, although some of them have co-occurrence restrictions with certain cases.

3.11. Basic ----> { Casual (C)
Volitional (V)
Indirectly Affected (IAF)
Directly Affected (DA)
Portative (P) }

Casual and Volitional specializations indicate the nature of the action exercised by the actant in the Agentive case. Casual surfaces as the prefix mu- and Volitional as mag-. In many instances this distinction seems to be justified more by syntactic rather than semantic considerations. For example, (70) and (71) seem to be synonymous.

(70) muqabli kug sardinas
'I'll open a can of sardines.'

(71) magqabli kug sardinas
'I'll open a can of sardines.'

However, we find a sentence like (72) where the implied Agent is - human (and therefore cannot exercise volition).

(72) muqabli ang pultahan ug kusug ang hangin
'The door opens when the wind is strong.'

The prefix mag- cannot be used in the same sentence.

(73) *magqabli ang pultahan ug kusug ang hangin
'The door opens when the wind is strong.'

The writer made a list of human activities and found out that these activities may be grouped into two classes: the exertive and the non-exertive. The exertive activities are symbolized by the verb base and the prefix mag- while the non-exertive are symbolized by the verb base and mu-.

	EXERTIVE		NON-EXERTIVE
lungqag	'cook rice'	lakaw	'walk'
lutuq	'cook'	lingkud	'sit'
adqad	'slice into fine pieces'	tindug	'stand'
hukad	'take food out of the utensil it was cooked in'	luhud	'kneel'
		piyung	'close the eyes'

basiyo	'set the table'	kaqum	'eat'
tanum	'plant'	hilak	'cry'
limpiyu	'clean'	lihuk	'move'
laba	'wash clothes'	higdaq	'lie down'
hugas	'wash'	bangun	'get up'
hiwaq	'slice'	suruy	'take a leisurely stroll'
silhig	'sweep'	sulti	'speak'
lampasu	'scrub the floor'	katawa	'laugh'

Ramos (1972) classifies these verbs as +centrifugal (exertive) and -centrifugal (non-exertive). Llamzon (1973) calls them executive and subitive respectively. Pittman (1956) lists several meaning-contrasts between mu- and mag- like impulsive versus deliberate or volitional.

Mu-, the surface symbolization of the underlying Casual specialization, is also used when the only case that occurs with the verb is the Neutral. The writer made a count of all verbs in the lexicon that accompanies the full study on which this paper is based, which choose mu- or mag- or which choose both mu- and mag-. This investigation revealed that whenever the N is -human and -animate the Casual rather than the Volitional specialization is chosen. The following verbs choose Casual rather than Volitional.

agas	'flow from an opening'
alim	'heal'
alisngaw	'evaporate, give off smell'
andar	'for something mechanical to run'
angka	'for something to get loose, give way'
aslay	'splash up, for grains to bounce up'
awas	'for liquid to boil, spill over the top of a container'
banda	'for something heavy to strike and bounce off'
buhagay	'pour forth in large quantities'
buka	'for the eyes to open'
bukad	'for grains or beans to expand and crack open when cooked'
bukal	'for something to boil'
bukhad	'for something to open up'

buluqbuluq	'bubble'
burut	'inflate, small'
buswak	'for a pod containing grain to open prior to the development of the grain'
butu	'burst'
butud	'for flesh to swell'

Another semantic difference between mu- and mag- is pointed out in the following sentences:

- (74) mubasa kug kumiks ug walaq nay laqing mabasa
'I read comics when there's nothing else to read.'
- (75) magbasa kug kumiks ug walaq nay laqing mabasa
'I am going to/will read comics if there's nothing else to read.'

(74) implies that the Agent does not usually read comics; when he does, it is not because of any serious reason but because there is no other material which he can read. (74) answers the question: Do you (usually) read comics? (75) answers the question: What are you going to read if there's nothing else to read (i.e., you've finished reading what you're supposed to read)?

It seems then that there is some semantic motivation behind the speaker's choice of mu- or mag-. However, since up to this point the distinction is not yet very clear (i.e., it is not rigidly applied in the language), Casual and Volitional are taken in this paper more as syntactic than as semantic labels. For example, what distinguishes ampuq 'pray' from ampuq 'surrender' is that the former arbitrarily chooses mag- while the latter chooses mu-. One cannot say that there is no volition involved in surrendering.

Directly Affected, Indirectly Affected and Portative indicate how the action affects the accompanying Neutral or Motive case, which is the actant chosen as underlying topic. The DA specialization indicates that the N or MO is the object or being directly or totally affected by the action. The IAF specialization indicates that the N or MO is only partially or indirectly affected by the action. A P specialization indicates that the N or the MO is the object or being that gets transported as the result of the action expressed by the verb. To illustrate, compare the following sentences:

- (76) kanqun nakuq ang mangga (N -Direct Affected)
'I will/am going to eat the mango.'
- (77) hugasan nakuq ang mangga (N -Indirectly Affected)
'I will/am going to wash the mango.'

- (78) ihatag nakuq nimu ang mangga (N -Portative)
'I will/am going to give you the mango.'

The DA, IAF and P specializations present very few inconsistencies, unlike the C and V specializations. Of the 820 verbs in the accompanying lexicon which take DA, IAF or P, only 42 presented problems. (These problems are discussed in the next issue.)

The following sentences illustrate the use of the above specializations:

(79) Casual

- (a) muqadtu siya sa simbahan ugmaq
'She will go to church tomorrow.'
- (b) muhilak ang bataq ug biyaqan
'The child cries when it is left behind.'
- (c) muqinum kug tubig
'I will drink water.'

(80) Volitional

- (a) magtawag ku ug duktur
'I will call a doctor.'
- (b) magtuqun ka kada adlaw
'You study every day.'
- (c) magbantay ku sa tindahan ugmaq
'I will watch the store tomorrow.'

(81) Directly Affected

- (a) paqakun ka sa iruq ug muduqul ka
'The dog will bite you if you go near.'
- (b) gisiquin sa bataq ang libru
'The child will tear the book.'
- (c) dakpun sa pulis ang kawatan
'The police will catch the thief.'

(82) Indirectly Affected

- (a) higtan nila ang iruq maqadlaw
'They tie the dog during the day.'
- (b) gibuhiqan sa tawu ang langgam
'The man freed the bird.'
- (c) kuptan niya pagqadyu ang kwarta
'He will hold on to the money tightly.'

(83) Portative

- (a) ibaligyaq nila ang balay
'They will sell the house.'

- (b) ipadala niya sa America ang iyang anak
'He will send his child to America (the U.S.).'
(c) iqitsa ngari ang bula
'Throw the ball here.'

3.12. Secondary ----->

Ability (A)
Ability/Involuntary (AI)
Intensive (I)
Intensive Accidental Result (IAR)
Moderative (M)
Frequentative (F)
Destructive Action (DSA)
Habitual/Occupational (HO)
Transitory (T)
(Simultaneous Involuntary Reciprocal) (SIR)
(Reciprocal (R))

3.12.1 Ability

This type of derived specialization is realized on the surface as the prefix ika- (perfective gika-). It specializes verbs whose topic is either N, AS or I. It is often interchangeable with the Ability/Involuntary ma- except in existential sentences whose topic is I and in sentences whose topic is AS.

Compare the following:

- (84) mahatag ku kini kaniya ugmaq
'I can give this to him tomorrow.'
(85) ikahatag ku kini kaniya ugmaq
'I can give this to him tomorrow.'
(86) *walaq/duna kuy mapalit sa bugas
'I have nothing/something with which to buy rice.'
(87) walaq/duna kuy ikapalit sa bugas
'I have nothing/something with which to buy rice.'
(88) walaq/duna akuy mapalit sa kwarta
'I cannot/can buy something with the money.'
(89) *nasakay ku siya kagahapun
'We were able to ride together yesterday.'
(90) gikasakay ku siya kagahapun
'We were able to ride together yesterday.'

3.12.2. Ability/Involuntary

In Cebuano, Ability and Involuntary are ambiguous when the surface realization is maka-, ma- or ma-...an. The prefix maka- is used when the topic is an A, ma- when the topic is an N and the verb is specialized as Directly Affected and ma-...-an when the topic is an N and the verb is specialized as Indirectly Affected.

The following illustrates these uses of Ability/Involuntary:

(91) maka-

- (a) nakasinggit siya sa kahikurat
'He shouted out of surprise.'
- (b) makakitaq kag daghang aswang didtu
'You will be able to see a lot of witches there.'

(92) ma-

- (a) walaq nakuq mabasa ang imung sulat
'I was not able to read your letter
(i.e., either intentionally or unintentionally).'
- (b) nahuman ra gud ang trabahu
'At last the work is finished.'

(93) ma-...-an

- (a) napalitan na siya ug sininaq
'She has been bought a dress.'
- (b) nakuhaqan nag lima ka kilu ang bugas
'Five kilos has been taken out from the rice.'
- (c) nahatagan na siya nakuq ug pagkaqun
'I already gave him food.'
- (d) natubuqan na ug sagbut ang daruhan
'Weeds have grown on the field.'
- (e) natupngan na sa lubi ang saging
'The coconut tree has grown to the height of
the banana tree.'
- (f) napatiran niya ang bula
'He kicked the ball.'

3.12.3 Intensive

Intensive does not surface as an affix. It is realized as the reduplication of the base plus a shift of stress to the ultima, if it is not there already. The intensive specialization indicates that the action is repeated over and over. Examples of verbs specialized as Intensive are given in the following sentences.

- (94) gisunudsunúd (< sunúd) siya sa iyang iruq
'His dog kept following him.'

- (95) gihiwaqhiwāq (< hīwaq) niya ang karni
'He sliced the meat finely (lit. sliced repeatedly).'
- (96) gisulatsulatān (< sulāt) niya ang bungbung
'He wrote all over the wall.'
- (97) gisiqgisiquṇ (< gīsiq) sa bata ang papil
'The child will tear the paper into fine pieces.'

3.12.4. Intensive Accidental Result

IAR is realized as the prefix magka- plus a reduplication of the base and a shift of stress to the ultima. It only specializes verbs in whose case frame only an N is obligatory. The following are illustrative sentences of verbs specialized in this manner.

- (98) nagkahulughulūg ang iyang dala
'The things he is carrying kept falling.'
- (99) nagkahagbunghagbūng siya sa klasi
'He kept failing from his classes.'
- (100) nagkagisiqgisīq ang manga kurtina
'The curtains were torn all over.'
- (101) nagkadugmuqduḡmuḡ kug agpas nimu
'I kept stumbling catching up with you.'

3.12.5. Moderative

To show that an action is not carried out seriously the speaker specializes the verb with the Moderative specialization. It is expressed by the reduplicated base plus a penult stress if the base is disyllabic and by the prefix C₁ (lu) u- if the base is polysyllabic. (Subscript₁ refers to the first consonant of the base.) A base of the structure S₁ S₂ S₁ S₂ (S means syllable) does not allow a Moderative specialization.

The following sentences illustrate the Moderative specialization:

- (102) gihiwaqhiwaq niya ang karni
'He sliced the meat playfully.'
- (103) basabasahun ku ang libru sa trak
'I'll try to read the book on the bus.'
- (104) nagpulupadāla siyang kwarta sa ila
'He sends money home once in a while.'
- (105) nagkantakānta siya sa banyu
'He sings in the bathroom.'

3.12.6. Frequentative

A Frequentative specialization indicates that an action occurs frequently. It is expressed on the surface as mag-...-an. It occurs only with verbs whose topic is +A.

- (106) magkantahán siya sa choir
'He frequently sings in the choir.'

- (107) maghatagán siya nakug kwarta
'He frequently gives me money.'

- (108) magqanhiqán siyag maDominggo
'He comes on Sundays.'

The Frequentative does not allow the verb to take on aspect. Aspect has to be indicated by a time adverbial as in (109).

- (109) magkantahán siya sa choir niqadtu
'He used to sing in the choir.'

3.12.7. Destructive Action

DSA indicates that the action expressed by the verb is destructive. In surface structure it is shown by the prefix maN-.

- (110) mangaqum ug pisuq kining babuya
'This pig eats chicks.'

- (111) nanguhaq siya sa diliq iya
'He got what was not his.'

- (112) manglibak siya ug mutalikud ka
'She will speak against you if you turn your back.'

- (113) mamumal naq siya ug dunay magminalditu
'He beats anyone who makes foolishness.'

3.12.6. Habitual/Occupational

The prefix maN- expresses habitual or occupational meaning as shown in the following sentences.

- (114) manglampasu siya kada buntag
'He scrubs (the floor) every morning.'

- (115) mangutluq mi didtu sa bukid
'We will participate in the (rice) harvest in the mountain.'

- (116) manghilamqus dayun siya inigmata niya
'He washes his face as soon as he wakes up.'

3.12.9. Transitory

T occurs with verbs which require only the N as the obligatory Case. It indicates that the state which is expressed by the verb is transitory. It is realized in surface structure as *maN-*.

- (117) *namula siya sa kapungut*
'He turned red because of anger.'
- (118) *nangurug ang iyang tuhod*
'His knees trembled.'
- (119) *manglagum ang imung mata ug waq kay tulug*
'Your eyes will have dark wings if you don't sleep.'
- (120) *nanindug ang akung balhibu*
'My hair stood on end.'

3.12.10. Simultaneous Involuntary Reciprocal

This specialization surfaces as *magka-* and occurs only when the verb is mutual action, i.e., when it essentially means "X and Y do Z together." Some mutual action verbs have non-mutual counterparts, for example, *away* 'fight; quarrel' and *haluk* 'kiss'. When the verb is used in a non-mutual sense it does not take an SIR specialization. The following sentences illustrate verbs in their mutual and non-mutual senses.

- (121) *nihaluk siya sa kamut (N) sa babayi*
'He kissed the lady's hand.'
- (122) *naghaluk si Pedro ug si Maria (A=AS)*
'Pedro and Maria kissed/are kissing each other.'
- (123) *awayun nakuq ang nanghilabut (N) sa akung butang*
'I will fight whoever touched my things.'
- (124) *nagqaway sila (A=AS) sa ilang panulundun*
'They fought/are fighting over their inheritance.'

The following sentences illustrate the verb specialized as SIR.

- (125) *nagkatagbuq si Boy ug ang iyang tatay sa paradahan*
'Boy and his father met accidentally at the terminal.'
- (126) *nagkaqaway ang magtiqayun tungud sa tabiq*
'The couple quarrelled (without their intending to) because of the gossip.'
- (127) *nagkatapad mi sa sinihan*
'We happened to sit together in the movie.'

SIR does not specialize mutual action verbs that have to be carried out by mutual consent, i.e., actions that could not be done involuntarily or accidentally by A=AS. Observe for example the following sentences.

- (128) *nagkaháluk si Pedro ug si Maria
'Pedro and Maria accidentally kissed each other.'
- (129) nahalukan ni Pedro si Maria
'Pedro was able to kiss/kissed accidentally Maria.'
- (130) *nagkahalug ang magtiqayun
'The couple accidentally embraced each other.'
- (131) nakahalug sa asawa ang bana
'The wife involuntarily (spontaneously) embraced the husband.'

3.12.11. Reciprocal

Reciprocal specializes verbs whose case frame is either [A N] or [A G]. A Reciprocal specialization enables an A to be also a G and vice-versa and an A to be also an N and vice-versa. Reciprocal essentially means "X does to Y what Y does to X". The Reciprocal specialization should not be confused with verbs that inherently allow certain actants to fulfill dual roles. Reciprocal surfaces as the affix ma-... (in) ...ay.

- (132) nagsinulatay si Esther ug si Gloria
'Esther and Gloria write/wrote/are writing to each other.'
- (133) nagsumbagay ang duha ka kawatan
'The (two) thieves boxed/are boxing each other.'
- (134) naghulamanay sila ug libru
'They borrow books from each other.'
- (135) nagtinaanqaway lang sila
'They simply looked at each other.'

3.12.12. Simultaneous Involuntary Reciprocal - Reciprocal

Verbs that take the Reciprocal specialization may also take the involuntary or accidental meaning. The SIR-R specialization is marked in surface structure as magka- ... (in) ... ay. The following sentences show the verb in the SIR-R specialization.

- (136) nagkatinanqaway sila sa pagsulud ni Nora
'Their eyes accidentally met (lit. they looked at each other accidentally) when Nora entered.'

- (137) nagkasumbagay ang magsuqun
'The brothers boxed each other accidentally.'

- (138) nagkalamanuway ang magkuntra
'The opponents/enemies shook hands unwillingly.'

3.13. Other Affixes.

There are other affixes that are not generated by rules 3.1 - 3.12. One of these is the plural marker maN. There are two reasons that explain this. First, although it has a widespread distribution, pluralization in the language is an optional rule. Second, the writer considers the plural to be initially a feature of the noun and is only copied onto the V. When the N is marked [+plural], the grammar takes one of two options: it may trigger off a distributive segment transformation to provide a node under which maN- may be inserted, or it may not do anything at all. (Restrictions concerning the distributive segment transformation are discussed in the next issue.)

Other affixes that the rule ignores are maha-/mahi- and hi-...-an. These affixes express sudden and/or non-volitional action. However, these are excluded in this paper because these are not in the writer's dialect. These are stylistic variants of maka-, ma- and ma-...-an. (Cf. 3.12.2.)

3.14. Sentence Derivation

The following phrase structure tree illustrates how the rules generate a sentence.

- (139) mupalit si Puring kang Imelda ug kursunisun para kang Ben.
'Puring will buy pants material for Ben from Imelda.'

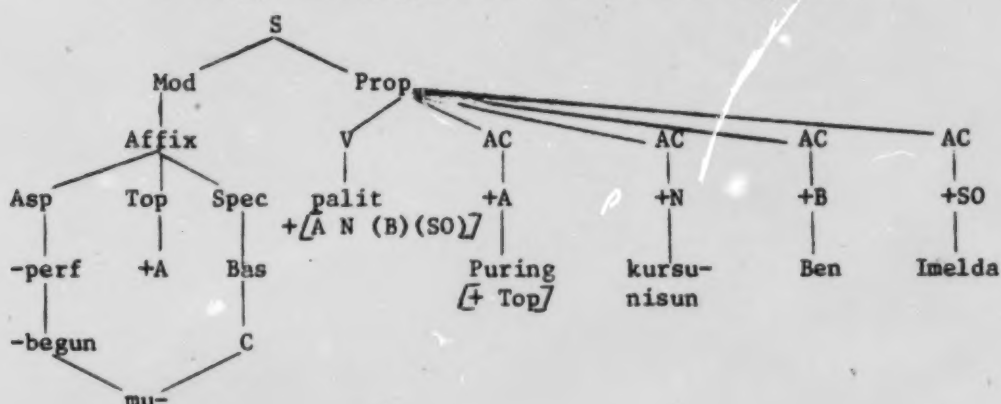


Table IV

Summary of Aspectual, Topical and Specialization
Meanings of Cebuano Verbal Affixes

Aspect			Specialization		
-Perfective -Begun	-Perfective +Begun	+Perfective	Topic	Basic	Secondary
ma-	nagka-	na-	+E		
mag-	nag (a)-	nag-	+A	V	
mu-	nag (a)-	ni-/mi-/ hing-	+A +N	C	
-an	gina-...-an	gi-...-an	+MO +N +NO +SO +L	IA	
-um	gi (na)-	gi-	+E +ME +MO +N +PR	DA	
i-	gi (na)-	gi-	+AS +MO +N +PT +R +RV +SU	P	
maN-	naN-/nagpaN-	naN-	+A		HO
maka-		naka-	+C		
ma-...-an		na-...-an	+V		
makig-		nakig-	+A		
ma-		na-	+N +AS +I		A
maka-		naka-	+A		AI
ma-		na-	+N		AI
ma-...-an		na-...-an	+B +SO +G +L +NO +N	IA	AI

Aspect			Specialization		
-Perfective -Begun	-Perfective +Begun	+Perfective	Topic	Basic	Secondary
Base+R+sn +affix	Base+R+sn +affix	Base+R+sn +affix			I
magka-		nagka-	+N		IAR
(Base+R+sn +affix)	(Base+R+ sn+affix)	(Base+R+sn +affix)			M
(Base+C ₁ (lu) u+affix)	(Base+C ₁ (lu) u+ affix)	(Base+C(lu) u+affix)			
mag-...-an			+A		F
maN-		naN-			DSA
maN-	nagpaN-	naN-			T
magka-		nagka-	+A=AS		SIR
mag-... (in)...-ay	naga-... (in)...-ay	nag-...(in) ...-ay			R
magka-... (in)...-ay		nagka-...(in) ...-ay			SIR-R

- R = reduplication of Base
 sň = stress is on ultima syllable
 C₁ = first consonant of Base
 sň = stress is on penultimate syllable

NOTES

¹Reservational is a term borrowed from Schachter and Otnes (1972). This case is distinct from the Instrumental case although they are marked by the same affix in surface structure. Instrumental is the tool which an Agent uses to carry out an act; Reservational refers to the thing the Agent uses or wears while performing an act. Notice the difference in the semantic functions of barung and gunting in the following sentences:

ipamayli ni Jose ang iyang bagqung barung
 'Jose will wear his new barong to the dance.'

iputul ni Jose sa pisiq ang gunting

'Jose will cut the string (or rope) with the scissors.'

The real Instrumental can answer the question: What did X use to do Y?
One can ask: What did Jose use to cut the rope? But not: What did Jose use to dance?

Another evidence for the existence of Reservational distinct from the Instrumental is the use of the preposition pinaqagi sa 'by means of'. Notice the difference between the following sentences.

giputul niya sa pisiq ang gunting

'He cut the string with the scissors.'

-----> giputul niya ang pisiq pinaqagi sa gunting

'He cut the string by means of the scissors.'

giqiskuyla niya ang iyang bulingung sininaq

'He went to school in his dirty clothes.'

-----> *niqiskuyla siya pinaqagi sa iyang bulingung sininaq

*'He went to school by means of his dirty clothes.'

English also seems to show the difference between these two cases. By means of and with are associated with the Instrumental case while in and also with are associated with the Reservational case. The following sentences illustrate this:

They destroyed the lock by means of the hammer.

He broke the string with his teeth.

He went to the party in his pajamas.

She went to the meeting with her new bag.

²DA means directly Affected, IAF means Indirectly Affected, and P means Portative. These terms are explained in full in 3.11.

³This problem is discussed in Luzares (1972).

⁴In 'Language and Consciousness' Chafe uses given for -new.

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FACT AND FICTION IN ISNEG NARRATIVE DISCOURSE¹

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O. Introduction

When linguists study narrative discourse in a particular language, it often appears that so much attention is given to folktales in proportion to other types of narrative that the term 'narrative discourse' is merely a metonym for 'folktale'. In Isneg, however, an analytic mastery of the discourse features of fiction in no way guarantees a similar mastery of the corresponding factual discourse genre any more than a mastery of effective style in factual reporting guarantees a comparable mastery of the creative act of evoking a folktale. The basic speech acts that call for fact in Isneg are usually quite different from those that call for fiction, and the strategies for accomplishing them are appropriately distinct.

The purpose of this paper is to highlight specific characteristics of factual and fictional narrative discourse in Isneg. One very useful way of looking at the specific traits of fact and fiction in discourse is to view them in relation to the kinds² of information that Grimes views as primary within narrative discourse² namely settings, casts, and events. The role played by each of these kinds of information is slightly different in factual discourse from what it is in fictional discourse.

A number of texts have been looked at from this point of view³ and two of these are presented in the appendices of this paper. Amante's Story is a factual first person account related by Amante Alipay of Dibagat. The Story of Gisorab is a folktale narrated in the traditional style by the late Lingbay of Bayugaw, a well-known story-teller.

1.0. Specific Characteristics Of Fact And Fiction

Fact and fiction are put to different uses in Isneg. Fiction is used primarily to entertain. In some cultures, fiction is also used to instruct as in fables and parables, and this may be used as one kind of hortatory strategy. In Isneg, this seems to be extremely rare.

A normal or perhaps primary use of fact is to inform. A discourse based on fact can also be used to entertain, though after repeated retelling it may continue to be effective as a means for entertainment even though it may have lost much of its original relationship to fact. Factual narrative may also be used to support a hortatory speech act whereas fiction is rarely used in this way in Isneg. A factual account can constitute a warning as it depicts the awful consequences of certain evil deed in narrative form. Nonetheless, the effectiveness of factual discourses in supporting speech acts other than the speech act that aims to inform

depends to a large extent upon the informative nature of the narrative. Thus, in this paper consideration is limited to examples of text that appear to be the primary uses of fact and fiction in Isneg: fictional narratives that seek to entertain and factual narratives that seek to inform.

The specific uses of fact and fiction in Isneg narrative discourse entail specific characteristics exclusive to the respective kinds of narrative discourse. Narrators present the information in such a way as to realize their intentions whether they be to inform or to entertain. This seems to be the reason why information is handled differently in these two types of narrative.

Grimes has observed that there are different kinds of information in discourse. Of the seven kinds of information he has listed, three are identified as primary information within the narrative discourse: settings, participants, and events. It is interesting though perhaps not totally unexpected, that most of the specific characteristics that distinguish fact from fiction in Isneg narrative discourse relate in a very natural way to at least one of these three kinds of information. The discussion in this section will revolve around these three kinds of information. In the final section, consideration will be given to the relevance of the fact-fiction distinction to the translation of factual discourse.

1.1 Settings: Times and Places

In Isneg factual narrative, the locative determiner kitu is commonly used to denote a very specific place well known to the narrator and very likely known to the hearer as well. This is a distinctive locative marker for factual narrative setting. The use of kitu in the locative phrase kiya sigídan ne Gisorab 'at the edge of Gisorab's house' in Sentence 95 of the Story of Gisorab (SG), instead of kiya, another locative marker which denotes a place near the speaker and hearer, strongly implies the factual existence of Gisorab's house. By contrast, if kiya had been used instead of kitu in the phrase kitu dáya babalay mi 'upstream from our village' in Sentence 22 of Amante's Story (AS), the resultant effect would have been that of a fictional account. The speaker would have been creating a setting before the hearer and the location would be understood to be imaginary.

In fiction, the locative determiner ka (location far from speaker and hearer), ki (hearer is near the location) and kiya (speaker-hearer are near the location) are used in locative settings.

However, ka is also used in factual narrative, as the locative introducer for place names, as in ka Kabugao in Sentence 49 of AS, ka Bagabag in Sentence 57 of AS, and uniquely specified place as in ka balay 'at (our) house' as in nawe ka balay 'he went home' in Sentence 15 of AS.

The temporal marker kitu is used in the time setting of a factual narrative discourse which denotes a specific time in the past. It is used as a temporal introducer where the head is a specific day or the like. This temporal determiner is absent in fictional narrative discourse.

In factual narrative, times and places tend to be specific and the narrator often links them back to the speaker, to the hearer and to specific names and locations known to speaker and hearer. Thus in Amante's Story, Sentence 16 ka balay 'at (our) house', Sentence 22 has kitu dáya babalay mi 'upstream from our village', and Sentence 25 has kitu tápatán mi 'on the river bank directly opposite our house'. It should be noted that these are all unembedded locations in which 'our' refers to the narrator and those of his family. Had these been embedded within quoted material, they would have linked the setting only to the quoted speaker rather than to the narrator. Factual place names also serve to establish factual settings. Amante's Story, Sentence 50 has ka Kabugao 'at Kabugao', ka Manila in 51, Sentence 57 it has ka Bagabag 'at Bagabag', and Sentence 62 has kitu Nichols Field 'at Nichols field' and ka Pasay 'in Pasay'.

As far as time settings are concerned, Amante's Story does mention in Sentence 1 that the axes were tempered on a Sunday, and in Sentence 2 that the plan was to go and dress logs on the following Monday.

In contrast to this, the times and places of settings in the Story of Gisorab are non-specific and do not link back to the speaker or his audience or to any known factual reference point. The Story starts out with Nawe kanu mà mamála de kuwa. 'It is told that some men went to get a piece of wood'. The fiction marker kanu mà immediately alerts the hearer that whatever the narrator is doing, he is not taking responsibility for the factuality of the narrative. There appears to be no linking of time or place to anything outside the narrative. Ipngaw is brought on stage in Sentence 1 without any kind of factual link to the speaker, the hearer, or to any known factual point of reference. He is not related by kinship to any known person. He is not introduced as coming from a known place of origin. He is not related to the known world in any way that could even turn out to be false if checked against known facts. Having been brought on stage, Ipngaw is used as a reference point for further settings. In Sentence 47, Ipngaw's house or place is used as location. In Sentence 3 we are told that the cast that was introduced in Sentence 1 went a long way upstream along a creek but we are not told where they started from, where their homes were or when it happened.

Settings of factual narrative link to known entities outside the narrative itself which in principle allow a check on the claims to factuality implicitly made within the narrative. Settings of fictional narratives seem to lack such links.

1.2. Casts: Participants And Props

Unnamed participants in both factual and fictional narrative can be introduced either as the subject of an existential clause or as the focused subject of a verbal clause. In factual discourse, however, the focus marker tu (sg.) or datu (pl.) is used as in inayabán ku datu kabbulun ku win 'I then invited my companions' (Sentence 7 of AS see also Sentences 14, 16 and 22 of the same text.) The use of these markers implies factuality.

The focus marker ya (sg.) or naya (sg.) are also used in factual narrative but only with uniquely specified participants such as the one in Sentence 6 of AS, Ay tútu nán naya bábakat ku 'And so my wife said'.

In factual narrative, the focus marker ya is appropriate when the denoted item is visible to both speaker and hearer. Ya, however, is also used in fiction and the way it is used in fiction is quite consistent with the very nature of fiction since its use in fiction does not presuppose that the item focused on is visible in any literal or factual sense but only that the item referred to belongs to the fictitious scene which the speaker is creating in the presence of his audience and that if the narrative scene were visible in any literal sense, the item referred to would also be visible. An example of this usage is found in Sentence 1 of the Story of the Sussuwetan Bird, Nawe nanglawán ya bábakat 'The old woman took rice from the granary'.

When a participant is introduced as the subject of an existential clause, in fictional discourse the existential particle atán or 'tán is immediately followed by the demonstrative particle yán 'that' (near the hearer). In the Story of the Sussuwetan Bird, the Sussuwetan bird was introduced in this way, 'Tán yán Sussuwetan kumáyab 'There is there the Sussuwetan (bird) flying'. The rat was introduced with the same kind of construction 'Tán yán Inoy 'There is the rat there'.

In factual narrative discourse, the demonstrative yán is absent as in Sentence 22 of AS, Ay kane atán da tolay 'And when there were people', also in Sentence 19 ay uwad kabalun na 'he now has a companion' where uwad is the past of atán 'there is'.

This use of yán with the existential clause is thus a characteristic of fiction in Isnég.

Participants in factual narratives are also normally linked to known entities outside the narrative itself. Sentence 1 of Amante's Story starts to introduce the cast by means of a first person plural pronoun. 'One Sunday, we tempered axes'. The cast includes the speaker. The speaker, in fact, is the central participant. The link between the cast of the narrative and the participants in the speaker-hearer relationship is complete and open to factual scrutiny. Other cast are introduced on the basis of this link. In Sentence 6 there is reference to bábakat ku 'my wife', in Sentence 7, datu kabbulun ku 'my companions', Sentence 15

isa nga kabulun ku 'one of my companions', and in Sentence 28 tolay ya magikkam kitu bingil ku 'people holding my foot'.

In Amante's Story, we also find that participants and props are linked to the hearer. In Sentence 42, one finds uwad nawe nagmesed kaneddi 'someone came here (to your village) to send a message', and in Sentence 43, mention is made of tu diyeneretor 'the generator (you used to use)'.

Further ties to the real world are found in the use of proper names to refer to individuals known to speaker and hearer independently of the narrative account. In Sentence 31, there is reference to ke Dick 'Dick Roe', and in Sentence 42, there is reference to Mrs. Velez. However, if the participant is unknown to hearer, the narrator includes some identification as in Sentence 33-36 of AS.

1.3 Events

Another characteristic that distinguishes fact and fiction is the episode patterning. In fictional narrative, episodes are frequently cyclical. In factual narrative, episodes are almost always linear.

The cyclical patterning of fictional episodes is very nicely illustrated in the text, Story of Gisorab, found in the Appendix. A cycle consists of an episode which is a partial copy of an earlier episode in which most of the earlier episode has been taken as it stands but in which certain participants are substituted for the original ones, certain setting locations are changed or certain time elements are changed. Various modifications are made by way of emphasis, intensity or elipsis. Sentences 8 through 37 illustrate an episode cycle in which the action is done alternatively by various participants. Sentences 66 through 82 illustrate a cycle in which the setting location is changed between episodes. Sentences 100 through 140 of the same narrative illustrates a cycle in which elapsed time is the variable modified from episode to episode.

The cycle is a device by means of which a fictional narrative can be indefinitely prolonged. The number of such cycles is in no way constrained to antecedent facts of any kind. Cyclical patterning is appropriate to a speech act which entertains. The constraints on this iterative formal characteristic derive from the speaker-hearer relationship. The skill of the narrator and the responsiveness of the audience are primary factors. Historical events play no role. Reality at this point is the creation of the narrator.

A second kind of formal clue that distinctively characterizes fact from fiction in Isneg narrative is that of event sequence patterning. In factual narrative, the event sequence unit normally has two constituents, the first of which is a non-past clause introduced by ay kane 'and then' or its equivalent and terminated by ay or some equivalent conjunction and

the second of which is normally the main clause of the sentence in past tense. The following illustrates this patterning:

- | | | |
|--|----|----------------------------------|
| 3. Ay sabáli ta kane mabalin
nà masabbu | ay | sinet ku win tu
parakul ku. |
| 'Useless as it may seem
now, when I finished
tempering | | I sharpened my axe'. |
| 9. Ay kane dumatang kami kitu
pungut natu káyu wa win
na ntál lin | ay | sumikáp kami yin na
manablun. |
| 'And when we arrived at
the base of the tree
that was already felled | | we started to dress logs'. |
| 11. Ay kane mippay tu parakul
kitu bingil ku | ay | nekálin nà ala kitu káyu
win. |
| 'And when the axe landed
on my foot | | I fell down on the log'. |

In fictional narrative, the first constituent of this event unit is most always absent. Events succeed events with a minimum of linkage as successive flashes in the narrative. The following sentences illustrates this patterning.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Nawe da mamála. | 'They went to get a piece of wood.' |
| 3. Nakatúlutúlung, nakatúlutúlung. | 'They went upstream for a long ways'. |
| 4. Nalángad da ya tablang. | 'They looked up and saw the tablang
tree'. |
| 7. Nagimáng dangin. | 'Then they rested'. |
| 9. Nawe Indadakkal. | 'Thumb went'. |
| 14. We manin Intutuldu. | 'Index Finger went'. |
| 18. 'Tálaw manin. | 'He also left.' |

A third kind of formal clue is provided by the tendency present in fiction and absent in factual discourse for narrative to be replaced by dramatic discourse as the narrative proceeds. Dramatic discourse appears to be formally appropriate to a speech act which creates its object, but

not to one that reports the facts. This is illustrated in the following episode from the Story of Gisorab. (The position that would be filled by quotation margins in factual discourse are represented by the blanks.

9. Nawe Indadakkal
'Thumb went' _____

10. _____ "Di mu ilang ya tablang. Barawad
biyung nayán. Balábag rasi
nayán," nán na.
'Don't fell the tablang tree.
Its fruits are knives. Its
thorns are spears', it said.

11. _____ "Ayoy, ayoy, ayoy, atán anítu." _____
'Wow there is a spirit'

12. Tálaw Indadakkal.
'Thumb left'.

13. _____ "Ay ikaw mà lugud Intutuldu." _____
'OK you then Index Finger'

14. We manin Intutuldu.
'Intutuldu went also'.

15. Pumanpanulpol, pumanpanulpol.
'He chopped and chopped.'

16. _____ "Di mu ilang ya tablang. Balabag
rasi nayán. Barawad biyung nayán."
'Don't fell the tablang tree.
Its thorns are spears. Its fruits
are knives'.

18. Tálaw manin.
'He left again'

19. _____ "Ay ikaw win Impupúnut." _____
'OK you now Middle Finger'

The narrator of a factual narrative discourse proves the factuality of the events in his discourse by relating it to certain pieces of information which both he and his audience accept as factual. It may be shared geographical information or shared cast information as discussed previously under Setting and Cast headings respectively.

2.0. Features Of Fact and Fiction Available In Translation

It should be noted that not all the distinct traits of factual and fictional narrative discourse are available options when it comes to actually constructing a translation of factual material. Traits not available as options in the process of translation include the cyclical episode patterning of the fictional narrative, and linkage of characters and events to factual entities that are known to the speaker and to the hearer. This, to some extent, is fixed by the source text. However, in relation to factual linkage, the construction of a supplementary literature in the language that will serve to provide the reader with various kinds of background that can function as factual reference points is one option. This may bridge the gaps in the factual linkage that are present in the translated document.

On the other hand, special attention should be given to the traits of factual and fictional narrative discourse that are within the reach of the translator. These are mostly the syntactic mechanisms, the use of which is allowed by both types of narratives. These syntactic devices include the use of the near-to-the-hearer demonstrative yán in the existential clause introducing a fictional participant in the discourse, and the two part sentence structure that is appropriate only to factual narrative discourse. It also includes the locative setting markers, kiya, ki and other locative markers which imply a very general location and locative setting marker kitu which implies very specific location. Deleting or filling quotation margins is another option available to the translator. Avoidance of quotation margin deletion insures the factual status of the narrative discourse.

Rightfully choosing the options available to the translator calls for an analytic mastery of both fictional and factual narrative discourse to eliminate ambiguities as to the factual intent of the translated narrative discourse.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Isneg is a language spoken by approximately 10,000 people in the province of Kalinga-Apayao, in the Republic of the Philippines. It is classified by Dyen (1965:31) in the same group as Ibanag, Gaddang, Yogad, and Atok. Although the language has usually been referred to by outsiders as Isneg, it is actually called Isnag by native speakers. In accordance, however, with the orthography currently in use (Roe, 1966) it is spelled Isneg in this paper. The author is indebted to Austin Hale for his invaluable guidance in the analysis and write up of this paper.

² For a fuller discussion of the kinds of information in discourse see Grimes (1971) and Grimes (1975) Chapters 3 - 6.

³The texts which provide the basis for this paper are the following: The Story of the Sussuwetan Bird (Fiction) by Lingbay, Dungkuan and Ayu (Fiction) by Lingbay, About the Death of that Baing (Fact) by Bargas Barad, The Ninth-day Death Celebration of that Baing (Fact) by Bargas Barad, and The Court Case of Captain Dalec and Buyyaw (Fact) by Albano Melchor.

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Appendix A Abbreviations used in the Texts

BF	beneficiary focus
Cert.	certitude particle
DtF	focused impersonal determiner*
DtN	subject/genitive impersonal determiner*
DtO	oblique impersonal determiner*
DtP	personal determiner*
Du	dual
Fic	fiction marker
Frus	frustration particle
Irr	irrealis particle
Hes	hesitation particle
LF	location focus
Lk	link
NPst	nonpast
OF	object focus
Onp	onomatopoetic
Pst	past
Pl	plural
Resp	respect particle
SF	subject focus
Sg	singular
Spec	specifier
Stat	stative particle
TLK	topic link
Tsl	tenseless
Uncert	uncertainty particle

*See paradigms, Appendix B

Appendix B Paradigms used in the Texts.Isneg Personal Pronouns

	Focused	Subject/ Genitive	Oblique	Preposed Topic
1st Sg	yà/Cà	ku	kiyà	iyà
1st Du	ta	mi	kadàta	dàta
1st Pl Incl.	tada	tada	kadàtada	dàtada
1st Pl Excl.	kami	mi	kadakami	dakami
2d Sg	ka	mu	kikaw	ikaw
2d Pl	kayu	nu	kadakayu	dakayu
3d Sg	Ø	na	kaggina	aggina
3d Pl	da	da	kaggida	aggida

Isneg Impersonal Pronouns

	Nonspecific/ Nonpast/Near	Specific/ Past/Far
3d Sg	kiya	kitu
3d Pl	kadaya	kadatu

Isneg Demonstratives

	Near Speaker	Near Hearer	Far from Both	Adj / Head
Focused	idi / iddi / ide	yân	tuni	tun
Subj/Gen	nidi / niddi	nayân	natuni	natun
Oblique				
Nonspecific	kaniddi	kannan	kattoni	
Specific	kiddi	kiyân	kituni	kitun

Isnag Determiners

	Impersonal		Personal	
	Nonpast/ Near	Past/ Far	Alive	Deceased
Focused Sg	ya	tu	Ce / nge	tu
Focused Pl	daya	datu	de	
Subj/Gen Sg	naya / na	natu	ne	natu
Subj/Gen Pl	daya	datu	de	
Oblique				
Nonspecific	ki	ka	ke	
Specific	kiya	kitu	kade	kitu

Appendix C FictionThe Story of Gisorab

by Lingbay of Bayugaw

1. Nawe kanu ma mamála
SF,Pst,vent Fic NPst,SF,to get a piece
de kuwa Ingkikit, de Indadakkal,
of wood, DtP Hes Little Finger DtP Thumb
de Impapanay de Impupúmut de Intutuldu
DtP Ring Finger DtP Middle Finger DtP Index Finger
de Ipngaw. 2. "Dad nu ma mamála."
DtP Ipngaw Let's go you Cert NPst,SF,get a
3. Nakatúlutúlung,
piece of wood SF,Pst,vent upstream
nakatúlutúlung ki isa nga awveg. 4. Nalángad
SF,Pst,vent upstream DtO one Lk creek OF,Pst,
da ya tablang. 5. "O
looked up and saw they DtP tablang tree Oh

1. It is told that
some (men) went to
get a piece of
wood, (namely,) Little Finger,
Thumb, Ring Finger,
Middle Finger,
Index Finger, and
Ipngaw. 2. "Let's
go get a piece of
wood." 3. (They)
went upstream for
a long ways along
a creek, 4. They
looked up and saw
the tablang tree.
5. "There, that's
a good (tree) to
get a piece of
wood from, com-

tu tuni ya napiya balān."

Spec that DtF good OF,NPst, to get a piece from

6. "Ay ò." 7. Nagimāng da ngin.

Oh yes SF,Pst,rested they then.

8. "O ikaw mà kuwa Indadakkal pan

O.K. you Cert Hes Thumb SF,NPst,go

magkallang."

SF,NPst,cut it down

9. Nawe

mà Indadakkal.

SF,Pst,went Cert Thumb

10. "Di mu ilang ya tablang.

Don't you SF,NPst,fell DtF tablang tree

Barawad biyung nayān. Balābag rasi nayān,"

Knives fruit that Spears thorns that

nān na.

SF,Tsl,said it

11. "Ayoy, ayoy, ayoy, atān

Wow wow wow there is

anītu." 12. Tālaw Indadakkal.

spirit SF,Pst,left thumb

13. "Ay ikaw lugud Intutukdu." 14. 'We
O.K. you then Index Finger SF,

manin Intutuldu. 15. Pumanpanulpol,
Pst,went again Index Finger Onp,chopped

pumanpanulpol. 16. "Di mu ilang ya
Onp,chopped Don't you OF,NPst,fell DtF

tablang. Balābag rasi nayān. Barawad
tablang tree Spears thorn of that knives

biyung nayān." 17. "Oy 'tān mà anītu.
fruits of that Wow there is Cert spirit

18. 'Tālaw manin.
SF,Pst,left also

19. "Ay ikaw win kuwa Impupūnut.
O.K. you now Hes Middle Finger

'Tān ma a anītu kiyān tablang
There is Cert Lk spirit that tablang tree

kiyān." 20. Pumanpanulpol, manin Impupūnut.
that Onp,chopped again Middle Finger

panions," said
Ipngaw. 6. "Oh
yes." 7. They
rested then.

8. "O.K., you,
what's your name,
Thumb go cut (it)
down." 9. Sure
enough Thumb went.
10. "Don't fell
the tablang tree.
Its thorns are
spears. Its
fruit is knives,"
it said. 11,
"Wow, there's a
spirit." 12.
Thumb left.

13. "O.K. you then,
Index Finger."
14. Index Finger
went again. 15. He
chopped (and)
chopped. 16. "Don't
fell the tablang
tree. Its thorns
are spears. Its
fruits are knives."
17. "Wow, there's
surely a spirit."
18. He also left.

19. "O.K. you now
what's your name
Middle Finger.
There's surely a
spirit there at
that tablang tree."
20. Middle Finger
chopped again. 21.
"Don't fell the

21. "Di mu ilang ya tablang.
Don't you OF,NPst,fell down DtF tablang tree
Balābag rasi nayān. Barawad biyung nayān."
spears thorns of that knives fruits of that
tablang tree. Its
thorns are spears.
Its fruits are
knives." 22.
"Wow, there's a
spirit." 23. He
also left.
22. "Ayoy, ayoy, ayoy, 'tān anítu."
Wow wow wow there is spirit
23. 'Tálaw manin.
SF,Pst,left also
24. "Ay ikaw win Impapanay." 25. 'We
O.K. you now Ring Finger. SF,Pst,
manin Impapanay. 26. Pumanpanulpol
went again Ring Finger Onp,chopped
pumanpanulpol. 27. "Di mu ilang
Onp,chopped Don't you OF,NPst,fell down
ya tablang. Balābag rasi nayān. Barawad
DtF tablang tree spears thorns of that knives
biyung nayān." 28. "Ay 'tān anítu."
fruits of that wow there's spirit
29. "Kaw mán Kikit." 30. We
you try Little Finger SF,Pst,went
manin. 31. Pumanpanulpol, pumanpanulpol.
also Onp,chopped Onp,chopped
32. "Di mu ilang ya tablang.
Don't you OF,NPst,fell DtF tablang tree
Balābag rasi nayān. Barawad biyung nayān."
spears thorns of that Knives fruits of that
33. "Ayoy, ayoy 'tān anítu."
Wow wow there's spirit
34. "'Kaw Ipngaw." 35. 'We Ipngaw.
you Ipngaw SF,Pst,went Ipngaw
36. Pamanpanulpol. 37. "Di mu ilang
Onp,chopped Don't you Of,Npst,fell
ya tablang. Balābag rasi nayān. Barawad
DtF tablang tree spears thorns of that knives
tablang tree. Its
thorns are spears.
Its fruits are
knives." 28. "Wow
there's spirit."
29. "You try Little
Finger." 30. He
also went. 31. He
chopped (and) chop-
ped. 32. "Don't
fell the tablang
tree. Its thorns
are spears. Its
fruits are knives."
33. "Wow, there
is a spirit."
34. "You Ipngaw."
35. Ipngaw went.
36. He chopped.
37. "Don't fell
the tablang tree.
Its thorns are
spears. Its fruits
are knives." 38.
"Ha, ha (what's

biyung nayán. 38. "Kasa, kasa pàgan kiyán.
fruits of that ha ha respect there

39. Pumanpanulpol kammala nge Ipngaw. 40. Nìlang
Onp, chopped anyway DtP Ipngaw OF, Pst,

na o se da mà tutu busáan.
felled he then they Cert OF, NPst, split it up

41. Tittu ne Angkikit nakabála.
only one DtP Little Finger SF, Pst,

42. Bakkan nala
was able to get a piece of wood. not any-

namála nge Ipngaw win ta
more get a piece of wood Dtp Ipngaw now for/because

'tán Dikkananay ki untù ne tablang.
there is Dikkananay DtO top of the tablang tree

43. Atáwa da se Ipngaw. 44. Túya
SF, NPst, get married they and Ipngaw that's

kuwa nagsay-am nge Ipngaw. 45. "Kasa,
why Hes SF, Pst, had a feast DtP Ipngaw ha

kasa kasa, 'kan nà ala mamála.
ha ha not I anymore SF, NPst, get a piece of

Táwa ta ngin Dukkananay. 'Pan
wood SF, NPst, get married we now Dukkananay SF,

ta ka balay, "nán na se magsay-am.
NPst, go we DtO house Tsl, said he then SF, NPst, had

a feast

46. 'Tán pe yán. Angkikit ki bála
there is also this Little Finger with piece

na ngin. 47. Nippay na kiya
of wood his now OF, Pst, put he LP, this

dadnuwágar ne Ipngaw. 48. Awan na di manùbit
path DtP Ipngaw None Lk not SF, NPst,

ki tolay. 49. "Piya din bála
touch of the people Good Irr piece of wood

there for me) to
respect there."

39. Ipngaw chopped
on anyway. 40.
He felled it and
sure enough they
split-it-up.

41. Little Finger
was the only one
who was able to get
a piece of wood.

42. Ipngaw didn't
get a piece of wood
anymore since Dik-
kananay was at the
top of the tablang
tree. 43. She and
Ipngaw will get
married. 44. That's
why Ipngaw had a
feast. 45. "Oh well,
I'll just not get-a-
piece-of-wood. We
will get-married
now Dukkananay. We
will go home," he
said and then he
had a feast.

46. Little Finger
was also there now
with his piece of
wood. 47. He put
it by the path go-
ing to Ipngaw's
(house). 48. There
was none of the
people who didn't
touch (it). 49.
"This would be a
nice piece of wood

kiddi nu mippà iddi se iddi," nān da
this if OF,NPst,remove this and this said they

ki bāla ne Angkikit. 50. Túya
DtO piece of wood of Little Finger That's why

ay tam-ut tolay. 51. 'Pan na manin
oh SF,NPst,nick people OF,NPst,take he again

na ikaratam tu itugud da nga
Lk OF,NPst,plane off that point out they Lk

kadāsan na. 52. Tān manin umbet kadatu
defect of it there's again come of those

apat. 53. "O piya mà bāla kiddi
invited Well good Cert piece of wood this

nu mippà iddi se iddi." 54. 'Pà
if/when OF,NPst,remove this and this OF,NPst,

na manin mamumut da. 55. 'Tān
remove he again OF,NPst,nick they there

da manin tolay. 56. "O ávan ta ma ala
are they again people Well none we Cert just

kagiyan ki bāla kiddi. 'Na agpà
OF,NPst say about piece of wood this How much

nu 'pan ta ipālag ta ka
more if/when OF,NPst,take we OF,NPst,dry we DtO

ambaw. 57. We yin datu tolay.
river bank SF,Pst,went now those people

58. Mang inalà ne Angkikit
OF,Pst,went OF,Pst,get DtP Little Finger

se na mang ibilag ka ambaw. 59.
and he Pst,went OF,NPst,dry DtO riverbank

Balbāli din. 60. Nipur ya bāla
Windy Stat OF,Pst,blew DtF piece of wood

se magdattag ki danum. 61. Túya
and OF,NPst,landed DtO water That's why

nillud. 62. Mang
OF,Pst,drifted downstream SF,Pst,went

if this and this
were taken off,"
they said about
Little Finger's
piece of wood.
50. Then the people
nicked it. 51. He
took it again to
plane off what they
pointed out as its
defect. 52. There
were again those of
the invited who
came. 53. "Well
this piece of wood
(would) certainly
be nice this and
this were removed."
54. Again

he removed (where)
they nick. 55.
Again there are
people. 56. "Well
certainly there is
nothing (bad) we
can say about this
piece of wood. It
would really be
good if we take it
to the river bank
to dry." 57. Then
the people went.

58. Little Finger
went to get it and
then he went to
dry it at the river-
bank. 59. Then it
was windy. 60. The
piece of wood blew
away and landed in-
to the water. 61.
That's why it drift-
ed downstream. 62.
Little Finger went
to check up on it.
63. That piece of
wood of his wasn't

sinnan ne Angkikit. 63. Awan tu
SF,Pst,to see DtP Little Finger None DtF

bála na kitu nangippayán na.
piece of wood his DtO LF,Pst,place put it he

64. "A nillud tu bálà.
Well OF,Pst,drifted DtF piece of wood of

Motun nà Ayu ta ang ngà
mine BF,NPst,cook for me Ayu for SF,NPst,go I

apulan tu bála ku," nán na.
OF,NPst,look for DtF piece of wood my said he

65. Namotun se ya palingdát Angkikit
SF,Pst,cooked and then after Little Finger

nangán, nawe yin.
ate SF,Pst,went now

66. Tagtaglod, Tagtaglod.
SF,NPst,traveled downstream SF,NPst,

67. Tang na da
traveled downstream OF,Pst, came he they

magúgát te. 68. "Awan nu nasingan kitu
washing pots None you OF,Pst,saw of that

bála ku?" 69. "Sugkawitan mi
piece of wood my OF,NPst,reach it we

ka kiwid ngam di mi masugkawit."
DtO cooking spoons but not we OF,NPst,able to

70. Suy-ág da kammala ngin.
reach it OF,Pst,pushed they really

71. Ay naglod mabin managlod.
Then SF,NPst,downstream again SF,NPst,

72. Dangan na manin de
went downstream OF,NPst,came he again they

magúgát. 73. "Awan nu nasingan
people washing pots none you OF,Pst,saw

kitu bála ku?" 74. "Sugkawitan
that piece of wood my OF,NPst,reached it

in the place where
he put it. 64.
"Well that piece of
wood of mine drift-
ed downstream. Cook
for me Ayu for I
am going to look
for that piece of
wood of mine," he
said. 65. She
cooked and then
after Little Fin-
ger ate, he went.

66. He traveled
downstream. 67.
He came to some
(people) washing
pots. 68. "Have
you seen nothing of
that piece of wood
of mine?" 69. "We
reached for it with
cooking spoons but
we could not reach
it." 70. They
really just pushed
it away.

71. Then he went on
downstream again.
72. Again he came
to some (people)
washing pots. 73.
"Have you seen noth-
ing of that piece
of wood of mine?"
74. "We reached for
it with our cooking
spoons but we could
not reach it," the
women said.

mi ka kiwid ngam di mi masugkawit,"
we DtO cooking spoons but not we OF,NPst,reach it

nán datu babbay.
Tsl,said those women

75. Naglod manin. 76.
SF,NPst, went downstream again

Dangan na manin da magúgát. 77.
OF,NPst, came he again they washing pots

"Awan nu nasingan kitu bálà."
none you OF,Pst,saw of that piece of wood

78. "Sugkawitan mi ka kiwid dam
OF,NPst, reach we DtO cooking spoons but

di mi masugkawit."
not we OF,NPst, able to reach

79. Naglod manin. 80. O
SF,NPst, went downstream again Well

sinnan na allod dammay tán árag
OF,Pst, looked he downstream but there's fish

napàda ka dāya íput. 81. "O
trap OF,Pst, set DtO upstream end Well

áram nasingan that bála ku
none you OF,Pst, saw of that piece of wood my

apu?" 82. "Oy tán kannán balay."
mister Well there is there at the house

83. Ay ang mu ípát
Well go you OF,NPst, bring to the river bank

apu ta mawe yà in ta mabagbagal
mister for SF,NPst, go I now for SF,NPst, in a hurry

là." 84. "O akkan Kikit ta ang
I Well no Little Finger for SF,NPst, go

mu kappela alá ka balay yin,"
you yourself OF,NPst, get DtO (my) house now

nán ne Gisorab bin. 85. "Oyt tumadáng
Tsl,said DtP Gisorab then O.K. SF,NPst, get

75. He went down-
stream again. 76.
Again he came to
some (people) wash-
ing pots. 77.
"Have you seen
nothing of that
piece of wood of
mine?" 78. "We
reached for it with
cooking spoons but
we could not reach
it."

79. He went down-
stream again. 80.
Now he looked down-
stream but there
was a fish trap (of
which) the end was
facing upstream.
81. "Say have you
seen nothing of
that piece of wood
of mine, Mister?"
82. "Well it is
there at (my) house."
85. "Well, go bring
it to the river
bank mister because
I am going now for
I am in a hurry."
84. "Well no Little
Finger because you
go get it yourself
at the house now,"
Gisorab said then.
85. "Come on we
will go ashore now
because you are go-
ing to get that
piece of wood of
yours." 86. Sure
enough, they went
then.

ta ngin ta ang mu alà
ashore we, Du now for SF, NPst, go you OF, NPst, get

tu bāla mu." 86. We da
DtF piece of wood your SF, Pst, went they

ma tutu win.
Cert now

87. Lumnà da se Angkikit tin.
SF, Pst, entered they and Little Finger now

88. Gagsab tu gitap ne Gisorab bin se
SF, Pst, slammed DtF door DtP Gisorab now and

na tulbakkan āta ilanggang na nge
he OF, NPst, locked it because OF, NPst, boil he DtP

Inkikit nu kuwa kalalāwa nān na.
Little Finger when Hes tomorrow said he

89. "Oy tūdug tada ngin Kikit,"
Well SF, NPst, sleep we now Little Finger

nān na. 90. Tūdug da mà tutu.
said he SF, Pst, slept they Cert

91. O panpanunūtan ne Angkikit.
Well OF, NPst, thinking DtP Little Finger

92. "O pa-paanna ngala kīdi o.
Well SF, NPst, how is it just this Frus

Panda kalawagān ku win," nān na. 93. Nagidda
End world my now said he SF, Pst, lay

kiya kuwa tagābi naya balay ne Gisorab.
down DtO Hes platform of the house DtP Gisorab

94. Tān yān ne Akakutan.
There is this DtP Wood borer

95. "Kekokokokokokokokot," nān na Akakutan
Gnaw Tel, said Lk Wood borer

magpal-palutput kiya sigīdan ne
SF, NPst, following along this edge of house DtP

Gisorab. 96. "Oy inna nād da kuwa yān ne,"
Gisorab Hey who Uncert Lk Hes this

87. Then he and
Little Finger
entered (the house).

88. Then Gisorab
slammed the door
and locked it be-
cause he was going
to boil Little
Finger sometime to-
morrow he said.

89. "Come on we
will sleep now
Little Finger,"
he said. 90. Sure
enough they slept.

91. Well Little
Finger was thinking
about it. 92.

Well how about this
anyway. (This is
the) end (of) my
world now," he said.

93. He lay down on
the platform of the
house of Gisorab.

94. There is there
a Wood borer. 95.

"Gnaw, gnaw," the
Wood borer said (as
he) went around on
the edge of Giso-
rab's (house). 96.

"Hay I wonder what
that (is)," he said.

97. "Who are you?"

98. "I am a Wood
borer." 99. "Well

nán na. 97. "Iin ka." 98. "Akakutan
Tsl,said he Who you Wood Borer

nà." 99. "Ay akkan mu la mabalin labbunan
I Well not you possible OF,NPst,

ya dalenan ku? Panda na biyág
make hole DtF OF,NPst,path my end Lk life

ku," nán ne Angkikit. 100. Kabailan
my Tsl,said DtP Little Finger Ability

ta a labbunan may i mabayág ta." 101. "Ay
we understood but long-time we Oh

oray yala a. Anúsam."
never mind just Lk have-patience

102. "Abbutam Kakutan maraabbut
OF,NPst,make hole Wood borer like a

ne tangtang. Matay yà in nu
hole of gourd bottle SF,NPst,die I now when

daddán." 103. "Kokokokokokokot," nán natu
later Gnaw said DtN

Kakutan. nin. 104. "In da kag-kagiyan
Wood borer now What Pl OF,NPst,saying

mu Kikit?" 105. "'Na nged balay ne
you Little Finger? Oh this house DtP

apu wi panarotarambi panagatagabi
master nice place to sleep on boards around

nasinsindig túlali,' nán ku apu."
over hang place nicely placed said I sir

106. "Gegegege."
He, he, he.

107. Abbutam Kakutan
OF,NPst,make hole Wood borer

marabbut ne tangtang. Matay yà in nu
like a hole of gourd SF,NPst,die I now when

daddán." 108. "Kokokokokokokot," nán natu
later Gnaw said DtN

wouldn't you just
be able to make
hole that I could
pass through? (This
is the) end of my
life," Little Fin-
ger said. 100. Of
course we can do
it but we will take
a long time." 101.
"Oh never mind.
Stick it out."

102. "Make a hole
Wood-borer, like a
hole of a gourd
bottle: I am going *
to die later." 103.
"Gnaw gnaw," the
Wood-borer said
then. 104. "What
are you saying Lit-
tle Finger." 105.
"What a (nice) house
the master (has) with
boards all around
(and) many nice things,
I said sir." 106. He,
he he," ..

107. "Make a hole
Wood borer like a
hole of a gourd
bottle. I am going
to die later."
108. Gnaw, gnaw,"
the Wood borer said.
109. "What is Little
Finger saying now?"

Kakutan. 109. "In da kag-kagiyán ne
Wood borer What Pl OF, NPst, saying DtP

Kikit tin." 110. "'Nge balay ne apu
Wood borer now The house of master

panarotarambi nasinsindig túlali,
nice place to sleep on over hang nicely placed

nán ku apu." 111. "Gegegegegege," nán
said I master He he he he Tsl, said

ne Gisorab.
DtP Gisorab

112. "Abbutam Akakutan maraabbut
OF, NPst, make hole Wood borer like a hole

ne tangtang. Matay yà in nu daddán."
of gourd SF, NPst, die I now when later

113. "Kokokokokokokot," nán tu Kakutan.
Gnaw Tsl, said DtF Wood borer

114. "Kag-kagiyán ne Kikit ti." 115. "Nge
OF, NPst, saying DtP Little Finger DtP

balay ne apu wi. Nainsindig Túlali
house of master over hang nicely placed

panarotarambi, ' nán ku Apu." 116. "Gegege."
nice place to sleep on said I Sir He, he

nán manin Gisorab. 117. Raman na tu
said again Gisorab OF, Pst, tried he DtF

bála na may di pakam meyang ngee.
piece of wood his but not yet OF, NPst, fit uh

118. "Abbutam Akakutan maraabbut.
OF, NPst, make hole Wood borer like a

Matay yà in nu
hole of a gourd bottle SF, NPst, die I now when

daddán." 119. "Kokokokokokokot," nán tu
later Gnaw gnaw said DtP

Kakutan. 120. "Da kag-kagiyán mu
Wood borer What OF, NPst, saying you

110. "'What (nice)
house the master
(has) with boards
all around (and)
many nice things,'
I said sir." 111.
He, he, he,"
Gisorab said.

112. "Make a hole
Wood borer like a
hole of a gourd
bottle. I am going
to die later."
113. "Gnaw gnaw,"
the Wood borer said.
114. "(What) is
Little Finger say-
ing." 115. "'What
a (nice) house the
master (has).
There are many nice
things (and) boards
all around,' I said
sir." 116. "He,
he, he," Gisorab
said again. 117.
He tried that piece
of wood of his (in
the hole) but it
did not fit yet.

118. Make a hole
Wood borer, like a
hole of a gourd
bottle. I am going
to die later."
119. "Gnaw, gnaw,"
the Wood borer said.
120. "What are you
saying Little
Finger?" 121.
"What a (nice)
house the master

Kikit?" 121. "'Na nged balay ne apu wi
Little Finger Oh this house of master

panarotarambi, nasinsindig túlali,'
nice place to sleep over hang nicely placed.

nán ku apu." 122. "Gegegegegege," nán
said I sir He he he he Tsl,said

ne Gisorab. 123. Matúdug manin. 124.
DtP Gisorab SF,NPst,sleep again

Nílà.
SF,Pst,slept soundly

125. Abbutam Akakutan maraabbut
SF,NPst,make hole Wood borer like a hole

ne tangtang. Matay yà in nu daddán."
of gourd bottle SF,NPst,die I now when later

126. "Kokokokokot." 127. "An da kagkagiyan
Gnaw gnaw What Pl OF,NPst,saying

ti." 128. "'Na nge balay ne apu wi panarotarambi,
Oh this house of master nice place to

nasinsindig túlali.'" 129.
sleep on with over hang nicely placed

"Gegegegege." 130. Iraman ne Ingkikit
He he he he OF,NPst,tried DtP Little finger

tu bála na. 131. Nínung.
DtF piece of wood his OF,Pst,I fit

132. Raman na baggi na. 133. Di neyang
OF,NPst,tried he body his Not OF,Pst,

pikam abága na.
fit yet shoulder his

134. "Abbutam, Akakutan
OF,NPst,make hole Wood borer

marabbut ne tangtang. Matay yà in
like a hole of gourd bottle SF,NPst,die I now

nu daddán." 135. "Kokokokokot," nán tu
when later Gnaw gnaw said DtF

(has) with boards
all around (and)
many nice things,'
I said sir." 122.
"He he he," Gisorab
said. 123. He went
to sleep again.
124. He slept
soundly.

125. "Make a hole
Wood borer like a
hole of a gourd
bottle. I am going
to die later."
126. "Gnaw, gnaw."
127. "What is Little
Finger saying."
128. "'What a (nice)
house the master
(has) with boards
all around (and)
many nice things.'" 129. "He he he."
130. Little Finger
tried that piece of
wood of his. 131.
It fit. 132. He
tried his body too.
133. His shoulders
did not fit yet.

134. "Make a hole
Woodborer, like a
hole of a gourd
bottle. I am go-
ing to die later."
135. "Gnaw gnaw,"
the Wood borer
said. 136. "What
is Little Finger

Kakutan. 136. "An da kagkagiyan ne
Woodborer What Pl OF, NPst, saying DtP

Kikit ti." 137. "'Ya balay ne apu wi
Little Finger DtF house of master

panarotarambi nasinsindig túlali,
nice place to sleep on over hang nicely placed

nán ku apu." 138. "Gegegegegege."
said I sir He he he he

139. "Abbutam Akakutan maruabbut
OF, NPst, make hole Wood borer like a hole

ne tangtang. Matay ya in nu daddán."
of gourd bottle SF, NPst, die I now when later

140. "Kokokokokokot." 141. "In da kagkagiyan
Gnaw gnaw What Pl OF, NPst, saying

ne Kikit ti." 142. "'Ya balay ne apu
DtP Little Finger DtF house of master

wi nasinsindig tulali panarotarambi,
with over hang nicely placed nice place to sleep

nán ku apu." 143. Iraman ne Ingkikit
said I sir OF, NPst, tried DtP Little Finger

baggi na ngin. 144. Nakawang ngin. 145. Inala
body he now OF, Pst, loose now OF,

na ya darantán. 146. Inala
Pst, got he DtF wooden pillow SF, Pst, got

na ya pinangúlu na. 147. Naggala ka
he F something for a head he got DtO

binalbág pinamingil na se pinangíma na se na
split wood for-a-foot he and for-hands he and he

kalumútan se na nga Kuwa ulatán
covered-with-blanket and he Lk Hes put-blanket

se lumawán 148. Nawe yin.
and went-out went now

saying." 137. "'The
house of the master
has boards all
around (and) many
nice things,' I
said sir." 138.
"He he he he."

139. "Make a hole
Wood borer, like a
hole of a gourd
bottle. I am going
to die later."
140. "Gnaw, gnaw."
141. "What is Little
Finger saying."
142. "'The house
of the master has
many nice things
(and) boards all a-
round,' I said sir."
143. Little Finger
tried his body then.
144. It fit easily
now. 145. He got a
wooden pillow. 146.
(He) got something
to use for his head.
147. He got split
wood to use for his
legs and to use for
his arms and he
covered it and he
put a blanket over
it and he went out.
148. Then he went
away.

149. "O iatug mu.
O.K. OF,NPst,put on to cook you
- Danumam sinublan Sibbarayunan," nán
OF,NPst,put water caldron Sibbarayunan Tsl,
na ngin." 150. Neatug da.
said he then OF,Pst,put on to cook they
151. Dinanumán da ya sinublan se da
OF,Pst,put water they DtF caldron and they
paguruan. 152. Saruyan ne Angkikit
OF,NPst,boil OF,NPst,take DtO Little Finger
nán na. 153. Nepist ki infinit
Tsl,said he OF,Pst,tossed in to DtO hot
ta danum mammay O nekuplang ngammin tallang
Lk water but oh OF,Pst,burn all front
ne Sibbarayunan. 154. Buttaw da
DtP Sibbarayunan OF,NPst,threw into they
nge Ingkikit nán da ngammay batu se
DtP Little Finger said they but stone and
darantán ya tolay.
wooden pillow DtP person
155. "O wá natu náapa-apannan ne
Well where DtN LF,Pst,went DtP
Kikit," nán ne Gisorab. 156. 'We
Little Finger said DtP Gisorab. SF,Pst,went
ka ambaw gapul ke Kikit.
DtO river bank SF,NPst,look for DtP Little Finger
157. Sangútan na damnang. 158. Awan.
OF,NPst,sniffed he across none
159. Sangútan ne allod. 160. Awan.
OF,NPst,sniffed he downstream none
161. Sangútan na ngátu. 162. Awan.
OF,NPst,sniffed he ashore none
163. Sangútan dáya. 164. Naángut
OF,NPst,sniffed upstream OF,Pst,smelled
na. 165. Nagtág Gisorab nán na ngammay
he SF,NPst,rum Gisorab said he but
149. "O.K. put it on
to cook. Put water
in the caldron
Sibbarayunan," he
said then. 150. They
put it on to cook. 151.
They put water in the
caldron and they boiled
it. 152. (He) got
(what) he thought (was).
Little Finger. 153.
(He) tossed him into
the hot water but oh
(water) splashed all
over the front of
Sibbarayunan. 154.
They threw in (what)
they thought (was)
Little Finger but the
person (was) stone and
a wooden pillow.
155. "Well, where did
Little Finger go,"
Gisorab said. 156. He
went to the river bank
to look for Little
Finger. 157. He
sniffed across the
river. 158. He wasn't
(there). 159. He
sniffed downstream.
160. He wasn't (there).
161. He sniffed towards
the shore. 162. He
wasn't (there). 163.
(He) sniffed upstream.
164. He smelled him.
165. Gisorab intended
to run but he hit his
head on a cliff. 166.
He fell into the water.
167. Then he also died.

netùtò ki pínát. 166. Nepitung ki
OF, Pst, hit head DtO cliff OF, Pst, fell into DtO

danum. 167. Tay pe yin.
water SF, Pst, died also now

168. Awan pe Gisorab bin. 169. Nalimat.
None also Gisorab then OF, Pst.

170. Akkan nakapanalug kane kuwa
drowned not SF, Pst, able to swim when Hes

netùtò ūlu na kitu batu.
OF, Pst, hit head head his DtO rock

171. Awan nin.
None anymore

168. Gisorab was
no more. 169. He
drowned. 170. He
was not able to
swim when his head
hit the rock.
171. There's no
more.

Appendix D Amante's Story

Related by Amante Alipay of Dibagat

1. Kitu isa nga Dominggo ay nagsabbu
DtO one Lk Sunday TLk SF, Pst, tempered

kami ka parakul. 2. Palānu mi tu mawe
we DtO axe Tsl, plan our DtF SF, Npst, go

ya manablum kitu Lunes 3. Ay sabáli
DtF SF, Npst, dress log DtO Monday and regret

ta kane mabalin nà magsabbu
particle for when SF, Npst, finish I SF, Npst, temper

kitu gidám, ay sinet ku win tu
DtO afternoon TLk OF, Pst, sharpened I already DtF

parakul ku. 4. Díkod natadam tutu wala.
axe my therefore sharp very

5. Ay kane gabi, tagenap ku ya
and when evening OF, Tsl, dreamt I DtF

búlán na tangtangapíngit tu masingan ku. 6. Ay
moon Lk only half DtF OF, Npst, see I and

tútu nán naya bábakat ku nga, "maddi ka
so Tsl, said DtN old woman my Lk don't you

1. One Sunday we
tempered our axes.
2. It was our plan
to go and dress
logs the following
Monday. 3. And,
foolish as it may
seem now, after I
tempered my axe I
immediately
sharpened it. 4.
Therefore it was
very sharp.

5. And in the
evening, I dreamt
of the moon, half
of which was all
I could see. 6. And
so my wife said,
"Don't you go any-
more because that
was a bad omen,"
she said.

- mawe yin ta nadake yām," nān na. 7. Ay 7. And it was
SF,NPst,go now for bad that Tsl,said she and different for I
was insistent,
sabāli ta napāti yā, ay and I now invited
regret particle for SF,Pst,insistent I and my companions in
the morning. 8.
inayabān ku datu kabbulun ku win kane pagmakāt And so we went.
OF,Pst,invited I DtF companions my now when morning
8. Ay nawe kami yin.
and SF,Pst,went we now
9. Ay kane dumatang kami kitu pungut
and when SF,NPst,arrive we DtO base
- natu kāyu win na nītāl līn, ay
DtN tree now Lk OF,Pst,felled already TLk
- sumikāp kami yin na manablun. 10. Ay
SF,NPst,start we now Lk SF,NPst,dress log and
- kitu pīlū pikam ma mangītab kitu
DtO third time my yet Lk SF,NPst,strike DtO
- parakul, ay nangaw-āt tala kitu bingil
axe TLk OF,Pst,went directly just DtO foot
- ku win. 11. Ay kane mippay tu parakul
my already and when OF,NPst,landed DtF axe
- kitu bingil ku, ay nekalin nā ala kitu
DtO foot my TLk SF,Pst,fell down I just DtO
- kāyu win. 12. Ay, "Nātab bā," nān ku
tree now and SF,Pst,wounded I Tsl,said I
- kadatu kabbulun ku, ay tūtu inumbet da ta
to them companion my and so SF,Pst,came they for
- uwad da kitu untū na.
there was they DtO top of it
13. Ay kane nekalin na, ay nalngāt
and when SF,Pst,fell I SF,Pst,fainted
- ta in. akkan ku ammu win tu uray win ta
I now not I know now DtF mind already for
- nakakawel là ngāmin. 14. Ay kane kuwa,
SF,Pst,defecate I even and when Hes
9. And when we arrived at the base of the tree that had already been felled, we then started dressing the log. 10. And when it was only my third time to chop with my axe, it continued right into my foot. 11. And when the axe landed on my foot, I just fell down on the log. 12. And I said to my companions, "I am wounded," and so they came, since they were at the upper end of the log.
13. And when I fell down, I fainted. I was unconscious because I even defecated. 14. And then my companion took me up. 15. And took off my shirt and then I wrapped

binángun nà tu kabulun ku win.
OF,Pst,took up he-me DtF companion my already

it around my
wound.

15. Ay linàbu ku tu kamasítà sè
and OF,Pst,took off I DtF shirt and-I.

nipsat kitu bígád ku win.
OF,Pst,bandaged DtO wound my now

16. Ay tu isa nga kabulun ku, ay nawe
and DtF one Lk companion my TLk SF,Pst,

ka balay. 17. Nagulli. 18. Nawe
went DtO house SF,Pst, went back SF,Pst,

nangalà kitu barangay ta pangitáyán
went SF,Pst, get DtO boat because LF,NPst, put

da kiyà. 19. Ay kane akkan pikam
on board they me and when not yet

nabayág ka bittì, atán nala ngin,
long time Lk little there is immediately now

ay uwad kabulun na ngin. 20. Tútu
and there was companion his now so

binulígán dà tun na
OF,Pst,took up together they-me that Lk

netakay kitu barangay. 21. Ay kane
OF,Pst, put on board DtO boat and when

nepidda dà kitu barangay, ay 'tu
OF,Pst, laid down they-me DtO boat TLk that-

tunin tu matay yà tutu wala ngin ta akkan
was-when SF,NPst, die I really now for not

ku am-ammu win tu kalawagán ku.
I know now DtF world my

22. Ay kane atán da tolay kitu
and when there is they people DtO

dáya babalay mi, nga dì ammu nu mangnigay
upstream village our Lk not-I know whether fishing

da kid, ay makiseng datu kabbulun
they it seems TLk SF,NPst, ask help DtF companions

16. And one of my
companions went
home. 17. He went
back. 18. He went
to get the boat
for them to trans-
port me with. 19.
Not long after
that, he was al-
ready back and he
had a companion.
20. So they both
took me and put me
aboard the boat.
21. And when they
laid me down in
the boat that was
when I really
fainted because I
didn't know my
world.

22. And when there
were (i.e. we saw)
people upstream
from our village,
I don't know--may-
be they were fish-
ing--my companions
were asking help
of them but they
refused. 23. "You

ku kaggida ngamay maddi da. 23. Ay,
my from them but SF,NPst,refuse they and
"Mawe dakami la sengán ta nadigrasiya
SF,NPst,go you-us just OF,NPst,help for OF,Pst,had

ya kabulun mi," nán da ngamay
an accident DtF companion our Tsl,said they but

sabáli tu ipàpàbág da mán kamin,
different DtF OF,NPst,answer they on the contrary,

ta padálin da nu kis-kesoru. 24. Díkod
for Tsl,thought they if Tsl,joke therefore

netul-túluy mi yala ngin tu nagutog
SF,Pst,continued we just now DtF SF,Pst,go down-

panda kitu tàpatán mi.
stream until DtO shore opposite the house our

25. Ay kane dumatang ngà kitu tàpatán
and when SF,NPst,arrive I DtO shore

mi yin, natay yà.
opposite the house our now SF,Pst,died I

26. Akkan ku ammu win tu nangitadáng
not I Tsl,now now DtF OP,Pst,took from shore

da kiyà panda kitu balay. 27. Sè la mamuwán
they me until DtO house and-I only OF,NPst,

nin kane atán da nga tolay ya magikkam
know now when there is they Lk people Lk SF,NPst,

kitu bingil ku win ngamay nabayág gà
hold DtO foot my already but long time I

in kitu balay nga áwan anga-ángat. 28. Ay
already DtO house Lk none breath and

kane mamuwán ku tu uray ku, sy atán
when OF,NPst,now I DtF mind my TLk there is

na nawe kaneddi. 29. Nepàrob da ya
Lk SF,Pst,came here OF,Pst,sent they DtF

isa tolay ya nawe maningan ke Anaway.
one man DtF SF,Pst,came SF,NPst,see DtP Anaway

just come and help
us for our com-
panion had an ac-
cident," they said,
but on the contrary
their answer was
strange because
they thought it was
a joke. 24. There-
fore we just con-
tinued going down-
stream until (we
reached) the shore
opposite our house.

25. And when I ar-
rived at the shore
opposite our
house, I fainted.
26. I did not know
when they took me
from the shore to
the house. 27. I
only knew it when
there were people
holding my foot but
I had been in the
house for some
time unconscious.
28. And when I be-
came conscious,
someone came here.
29. They sent a
man to inform (see)
Anaway. 30. There-
fore it wasn't long
that afternoon be-
fore they came with
Kilkeg. 31. And so
we butchered one of
our pigs and a dog.

30. Dikod akkan nagbayág kitu gidám, inumbet
therefore not long time DtO afternoon SF,Pst,

da, aggída se Kilkeg. 31. Ay tútu pinarti
came they they and Kilkeg and so OF,Pst,

da tu isa nga ábuy mi se isa nga átu.
butchered they DtF one Lk pig our and one Lk dog

32. Sabáli kane akkan makusap
it was different when not SF,NPst, stop

tu dága natu bingil ku, isa nga ulat tin
DtF blood of the foot my one Lk blanket already

tu napnu kitu dága, ay adu pikam rumuwár
DtF SF,Pst, filled DtO blood and much yet SF,NPst,

ay napnu ngámin tu sídung natu
coming out and filled all DtF underneath DtN

balay mi yin, ay nawe da nga inalà
house our already TLk SF,Pst, went they Lk OF,Pst, get

tu isa nga tolá ya nasírib ba mamakusap ki
DtF one Lk man DtF good Lk SF,NPst, stop DtO

dága ki tánib. 33. Adon kay-káyu wala.
blood DtO folk medicine leaves plants only

34. Ay kane inumbet, "Akkan kayu á
and when SF,Pst, came Not you Resp

nga malídug, gane," nán na.
Lk SF,NPst, worry would you please Tsl, said he

35. Ay Pagmakát ya ngágan na tolá ya nasírib
and Pagmakát DtF name DtN man DtF good

ba manánib ka natalíngu. 36. Ay kane pisuán
Lk curing DtO SF,Pst, wounded and when OF,NPst,

na ngin, nalgát tà manin.
apply medicine he now SF,Pst, fainted I again

37. Kínumrót ngámin tu ímà in.
OF,Pst, stiffen even DtF hand my now

32. And unexpected-
ly when the bleed-
ing of my foot
would not stop,
one blanket was
already full of
blood, and much
was still coming
out, and even un-
derneath the house,
was already full of
blood, they invited
the man who was
very good at stop-
ping bleeding with
folk medicines.
33. He only uses
leaves of plants.

34. And when he
came, he said,
"Don't you worry,
please." 35.
Pagmakát is the
name of the per-
son who is very
good at treating
wounded people.
36. And when he
put the medicine
(on my wound), I
again fainted. 37.
Even my hands now
became stiff. 38.
And later on, I
felt good since
the bleeding
stopped.

38. Ay kane daddán, ay tútu pummiya
and when later TLk then SF,Pst, got better

ngin tu uray ku win ka panda kane makusap
now DtF mind my already since when SF,NPst, stop

tu dága nga maglalawán.
DtF blood Lk SF,NPst, coming out.

39. Ay kane kuwa ngin kaláwa, ay
and when Hes now the next day TLk

tare kam pe napiya tu
somewhat satisfaction particle also good DtF

uray ku win, ngamay akkan nà pe la makasinád
mind my now but not I also just SF,NPst, stay

din kitu takit na ngin. 40. Ta
calm now because of pain of it already for

tagge sumilput ki dapán ku.
almost OF,NPst, pierce DtO sole of foot my

41. Ay kane kaláwa, uwad nawe
and when next day there was SF,Pst, went

nagmesed kaneddi. Nagmesed
SF,Pst, sent message here SF,Pst, sent message

ke Dick. 42. Ay sabáli ta akkan kami
DtP Dick. and regret particle for not we

nakarbuwát ka dáya kitu algaw wa
SF,Pst, able to leave DtO upstream DtO day Lk

agrubbuwát mi ta nagannag. 43. Ay díkod,
departure our for Pst, rain and therefore,

nadile kami ka siyám gabi se kami
SF,Pst, delayed we DtO nine nights and we

kara nanaglod. 44. Ay tútu akkan
then SF,Pst, went down stream and so not

kami manin na nakakuntak kitu kayun
we again Lk SF,Pst, able to contact DtO same day

na labbet mi.
DtN Pst, coming our

39. And on the next day I felt a little bit better but I felt uneasy because of the pain. 40. For it almost cut through the sole of my foot.

41. And on the next day, someone came here to send a message. He sent a message to Dick. 42. And it was bad because we were not able to leave the day we planned to leave because it rained. 43. And so, we were delayed for nine nights before we came downstream. 44. And so we were not able to make contact again the same day we arrived.

45. Ay kane pagmakāt, tūtu nagkuntak
and when morning that was when SF,Pst
ke Munò ke Dick. 46. Ay, "Umbet
contact DtP Munò DtP Dick and SF,NPst,come
ka mà magamoman tada nu kalāwa ta ittu
you Cert SF,NPst,talk we when tomorrow for this
ilalbet naya erplen," nān ne
is when LF,NPst,come DtN airplane Tsl,said DtP
Dick. 47. Ay sabāli ta atān na
Dick and regret particle for there is Lk
maddi tu diyeneretor. 48. Akkan kami
SF,NPst,refuse DtF generator not we
manin na nakakuntak kaggīna. 49. Dīkod
again Lk SF,Pst,able to contact him there-
kapilītan nawe kami ka Kabugao.
fore necessary SF,Pst,went we DtO Kabugao
50. Ay kane dummatang kami ka Kabugao,
and when SF,Pst,arrived we DtO Kabugao
nagwayr re Mrs. Velez kaggīna ka Manila.
SF,Pst,wired DtP Mrs. Velez him DtO Manila
51. Ay tūtu inumbet tu erplen nin kane
and so SF,Pst,came DtF airplane now when
kalāwa. 52. Ay kane alas nuwebe kitu lāwa
next day and when o'clock nine DtO next day
na, ay atān tu erplen na kuwa magīna
of it TLk there was DtF airplane Lk Hes OF,NPst,
mi yin na umbet. 53. Dīkod
hear we now Lk SF,NPst,coming therefore
nagpriper datu kuwa ngin mangippan kiya
SF,Pst,prepared DtF Hes now SF,NPst,take me
kitu landing. 54. Ay kane umbet tin tu
DtO landing and when SF,NPst,come now DtF
erplen, tun nala nga angitakay kitu erplen
airplane that only Lk boarding DtO airplane

45. And on the fol-
lowing morning,
Muno contacted
Dick. 46. And Dick
said, "You just come
tomorrow and let us
talk together for
this will be the
time when the plane
comes." 47. And it
was bad that the
generator would
not work. 48. We
were not able to
contact him again.
49. Therefore we
were forced to go
to Kabugao.

50. And when we
arrived in Kabugao,
Mrs. Velez wired
him in Manila.
51. And so the
airplane arrived
the following day.
52. And at nine
o'clock on the next
day, we were able
to hear the airplane
coming. 53. So
those who were go-
ing to take me to
the airstrip got
ready. 54. And
when the airplane
arrived, what they
did was just to
put me into the
airplane. 55. And
then we left.

tu kinuwa da kiyà. 55. Ay se kami ya
DtF OF,Pst,did they to me and then we Lk

nawe yin.
SF,Pst,went now

56. Ay kane dummatang kami ka Bagabag,
and when SF,Pst,arrived we DtO Bagabag

nagdittág tu erplen kitun ta mangán
SF,Pst,alighted DtF airplane that time for SF,NPst,éat

kami. 57. Ay ingkát nà ala ne Wayne
we and OF,Pst,lift-up he-me just DtP Wayne

kitu erplen se nà nepatugaw kitu simintu.
DtO airplane and he-me OF,Pst,sat DtO concrete

58. Ay tátu nawe nà niddan ka
and so SF,Pst,went he-me OF,Pst,gave DtN

nabaw se limpa. 59. 'Magyán ka ngin kidi
rice and viand SF,NPst,stay you just here

ta nawe ta ngin nu mabalin
for SF,NPst,go we,Du right away when SF,NPst,finish

ta mangán," nán na. 60. Ay kane mabalin
we,Du SF,NPst,eat Tsl,said he and when SF,NPst,

kami mangán tátu nagrubbuwát kami manin
finish we SF,NPst,eat so SF,Pst,left we again

na nawe ka Manila.
Lk SF,Pst,went DtO Manila

61. Ay kane nesídung kami kitu Nichols
and when SF,Pst,above we DtO Nichols

Field ay nasingan mi yin ne Dick kitu kuwa
Field TLk OF,Pst,saw we already DtP Dick DtO Hes

nga magsisingan kadakami, kane maganigad
Lk SF,NPst,looking at us when SF,NPst,come down

kami. 62. Ay kane magdittág kami yin, ay
we and when SF,NPst,alight we now TLk

atán pe yin nawe nanabat kiyà
there is also already SF,Pst,went SF,Pst,met me

56. And when we arrived at Bagabag, the airplane landed for us to eat. 57. And Wayne just lifted me up from the airplane and sat me down on the concrete. 58. And then he gave me rice and viand. 59. "You just stay here because we will go right after we eat," he said. 60. And when we finished eating, we left again and went to Manila.

61. And when we were above Nichols Field, we already saw Dick looking at us when we were coming down. 62. And when we had landed, he was already there to meet me and then he took me into their van. 63. Then we went straight to the hospital in Pasay, the Manila

se nà nelúgán kitu tarak da. 63. Se
and he-me OF,Pst,help into DtO van their and

kami nangaw-át kitu hospital ka Pasay,tu
we SF,Pst,went directly DtO hospital DtO Pasay DtF

Manila Sanatarium. 64. Tútu sinumrà kami yin
Manila Sanatarium. So SF,Pst,entered we already

kitu hospital lin. 65. Kane kuwa nippan nà
DtO hospital now when Hes OF,Pst,took he-me

kitu ngúdu. 66. Tu manin tu pinanāwan
DtO upstairs that time again DtF OF,Pst,left

nà in kane gidám ta akkan mà mabalin
he-me now when afternoon for not Cert possible

tu magidda kitúni, 67. Se nà manin
DtF SF,NPst,sleep there and he-me again

sinubangan kane kalāwa.
OF,Pst,visited when next day

68. Tagge tutu wala nga malánang
almost completely Lk LF,NPst,covered

ya addag ku se íma kitu indiksiyon ku win
DtF back my and hands DtO Injection my already

kane kuwa. 69. Tútu akkan nà makakínin.
when Hes so not I SF,NPst,able to move

70. Awan nin.
none anymore

Sanatarium.

64. Then we entered
the hospital. 65.

After a while he
took me upstairs.

66. Then he left
me in the after-

noon since no
one was allowed to

sleep there. 67.

And then he visited
me again the fol-
lowing day.

68. My back and
hands were almost
filled with in-
jections. 69. That
was why I could
not move.

70. That's all.

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF A SOUTHERN SAMAL TEXT:
Abunawas and the Beautiful Widow

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INTRODUCTION

An excellent method for initiating discourse analysis of any text is through the use of a Thurman chart, a technique referred to by some as "band analysis." This is essentially a heuristic device for differentiating the various types of material in a discourse. It is important, for example, to distinguish the main-event line from secondary events in a narrative, as well as to make other significant distinctions. This can readily be done by charting text into various columns or "bands". The Samal text analyzed here (see Appendix) is charted in this fashion using four headings: Setting and Background; Participants; Events; and Collateral. (Refer to Table 1.)

To begin it is necessary to make the assumption that certain bands will be relevant, even though the bands chosen may have to be revised as one proceeds with analysis. With Southern Samal, I started with six bands and shortly collapsed them into the above four.

In the column entitled "Setting and Background" one would put any information establishing discourse setting in time or space. In addition, any general explanatory background information that occurs anywhere throughout the discourse would also go here. In the "Participant" column are placed all identifications of and references to any of the discourse participants. Each reference is placed opposite its associated event. This permits the establishment of the case relation of each participant to each event by connecting the two with a line and labelling the line with an appropriate case name.

The "Events" column contains those events which are central to the development of the discourse proper, i.e., the main-event line or backbone. It is most important to distinguish between backbone events and other events that do not involve the backbone, such as background or collateral. That which does not appear to be part of the developmental sequence (and in narratives this means chronological order) should be relegated to some other band. Some languages make a formal distinction between main events and non-main events, and some do not. For those that do not, special care must be taken not to confuse the two, inasmuch as this is a pivotal point of the analysis.

Table 1: Band Analysis of the Text

<u>Setting and Background</u>	<u>Participants</u>	<u>Events</u>	<u>Collateral</u>
1. tutu <u>kata-kata</u> si Abunawas	(si Abunawas)		
2. niaq dikayuq danda landuq jantiq	(dikayuq danda)		
3. bahaqu giq umulna sogoq laqi na ya balu	(ya)		
4. minjariiq <u>danda naqan</u> nikelohan eq heka mandussia sampey siga sultan,	(<u>danda naqan</u>)		
5. sogoq <u>danda naqan</u> mbal mehelu na maghalla pabalik.	(<u>danda naqan</u>)		
6. ya tandaqna <u>kasi</u> , ngentom ma hallana, eqna(cq na) ngali <u>toqolang hallana</u> boq eq na mutus maka kakanaq keat, eq na moa moleq ni lumaq	(<u>toqolang hallana</u>) (eq na) ($\emptyset$) (eq na) ($\emptyset$)		
7. sangom-sangom niboa magulid tuli	(eq na) ($\emptyset$)		
8. minjariiq dikayuq waktu	si Abunawas maka sultan	LAP AG magndaq IMM	
9.	sultan	AG lling	ya "Abunawas, mehelu aku ma balu naqan, sogoq mbal mehelu maqaku"
10.	(<u>naqan</u>)	IMM	
11.	si Abunawas (ya) (=widbw)	AG lling IMM	ya "bang aku ya melohan niaq min tadda ru"

Setting and Background	Participants	Events	Collateral
12.	AG sultan (Ø)(=widow)	yuk IMM	"bang kaqu sab ya kinelohan min aku sultan magndaq na kita" "na"
13.	AG si Abunawas	yuk IMM	"iyan ya pagtukanta?"
14.	AG sultan AG -na (danda ili)	yuk yuk- IMM IMM	"bang kaqu" "nikelohan eq danda ili kaqu niaq sultan"
15.	AG si Abunawas	yuk	"aa haap"
16. minjarii	AG si Abunawas (na) (danda naqan)	LAP maglunsulan na	mamikil bang bate ingga eq na ngaddoq danda naqan
17.	AG ya parahoopoq-parahoopoq eq na (danda naqan)	lumaan SIM tinilaw IMM	bang ley minggu na danda naqan
18.	AG Ø ya (danda naqan siq) (eq na) (Ø) (=bones)	nihakaqan IMM	danda naqan siq ya bey nihinang eq na bey ngali kubul hallana boq eq na mutus maka kakanaq keat ya na niqulid eq na sangom.

Setting and Background	Participants	Events	Collateral
19. jariq boq peqe	AG eq si Bunawas ya	tapikil IMM AG sab ngali IMM	toqolang.
20. maka kakanaq poteq boq	Ø (=bones) eq na Ø eq na ya	PAT AG PAT AG AG maglunsulan. maglunsulan	pinutus sab IMM niboaq sab maglunsulan.
21. niaq tallum bulan ni bihing tahik sampey nijalum talun (danda naqan)	ya	AG maglunsulan	mamikil bang bete ingga eq na ngaddoq helo danda naqan
22. jariiq taka-taka eq lumaan eq si Bunawas ley ni lumaq danda naqan siq	(si Bunawas) ya (danda naqan siq)	LAP AG takka (danda naqan siq) IMM	
23.	AG nggoq danda	lling IMM	ya "angey kaqi ningkooq-ningkooq milu ma bihing haron?"
24.			"manna sab koq niaq lumaq pasakatan mandussia."
25.	AG si Bunawas -na	AG eq lling yuk- IMM	"mageynu bateq kami tutu aq a dagan, aqa sapiq, minsan mitu ma tanaq jari ru kami tuli."
26.	AG nggoq danda naqan	eq lling IMM	"sarin sab koq bang sikiya kaw ma paglahat mitu niaq lumaq mingga- mingga sab patulihannu sogoq

<u>Setting and Background</u>	<u>Participants</u>	<u>Events</u>	<u>Collateral</u>
27.			<u>haap na kaw pasakat.</u> <u>tuli na kaw mitu."</u>
28. laqi na	<u>si Bunawas</u> AG	meaq pasa- kat	
29. pagtaqabut <u>tongaq</u> <u>bahangi</u> , loddok pin tuli <u>danda naqan</u> manggahang na, boq peqe na	(danda naqan) AG <u>si Abunawas</u> (eq na)	LAP pagagap- gagap	
30. eq na moa <u>toqolang</u> eq na mutus maka kakanaq pote naqan siq boq peqe na	<u>Ø</u> (=Abunawas, bones) AG eq na maka toqolang bey halla danda naqan siq (Ø) (=both sets of bones) (na)	PAT pinagbawl IMM	
31. eq na magbawl boq peqe eq na ngengkot ma jalom tuqung		IMM	
32. boq	<u>ya</u> AG	tuli pabalik	
33. loddok na tuli sampey subuq	(si Bunawas) (ya)	LAP	
34. pagbati danda subu, hiluhalaq na danda	(danda)		mbal <u>ya</u> bey kabatiq Aha! (=narrator evaluation)
35.	AG -na AG -na	yuk- yuk- IMM	" <u>ley mingga</u> <u>toqolang hallaku?</u> <u>mbal na lugun.</u> <u>niaq bey nangkaw</u> <u>iya</u> "
36. taka-taka liruq	AG danda naqan siq toqolang } GOAL hallana, } AG <u>si Abunawas</u>	miha SIM ley maka- batiq	

Setting and Background	Participants	Events	Collateral
37. pagbati si Abunawas sab naqan bulloq- bulloq sab	(si Abunawas) ya	IMM miha	<u>bang minggu na</u> <u>toqolang ya eq</u> <u>na mutus siq,</u> <u>nioonan eq na</u> <u>toqolang ndana.</u>
38. paganu siq	AG si Abunawas	IMM yuk	<u>"matey na kam.</u> <u>hangkan du hati</u> <u>pinasakat aku</u> <u>eq bi piqitu,</u> <u>pinatuli aku eq</u> <u>bi ma lumaqbi,</u> <u>supaya</u> <u>takoleqbi, tatangkawbi</u>
39.	AG -na	yuk-	
40.			
41. boq pagtaka-taka eq magpiha na <u>siq</u>	GOAL Ø(=bones) AG	LAP laqi ta-	<u>toqolang ndaku.</u> <u>na laggana kam."</u>
ma loqok-loqok	eq si Abunawas	tummu IMM	
42.	AG si Abunawas	yuk	<u>"nganda ba kam.</u>
43.	AG -na	yuk-	<u>Angey</u> <u>toqolang ndaku maka</u> <u>toqolang</u> <u>hallanu</u>
	AG -na	yuk-	<u>ley magdikayug</u> <u>majalom tuqun?</u>
44.	AG -na	yuk-	<u>saula-ula</u> <u>sigiya tutu magkehelo.</u>
45.	AG -na	yuk-	<u>Bang sidja</u> <u>bey siga toqolang</u> <u>tutu taqu missala</u> <u>ngahaka ma</u> <u>kita arapun 'kaqu</u> <u>Bunawas daqa na kaw</u> <u>ngentom maq-</u>
	AG -na	yuk-	

<u>Setting and Background</u>	<u>Participants</u>	<u>Events</u>	<u>Collateral</u>
46.	AG -na AG -na AG -na	yuk- yuk- yuk- LAP	<u>aku', dimikian sab</u> <u>hallanu ili</u> <u>hilling na kagu daqa</u> <u>na kaw</u> <u>ngentom maqiya.</u> <u>minjarii</u> <u>bang bete ili</u> <u>ya pikilan toqolang</u> <u>siga</u> <u>baluta magkehelo</u> <u>sigeya.</u> <u>gamdu sab kita</u> <u>magkehelo"</u>
47. jariiq na	AG danda naqan siq	ley tal- bukaq LAP	<u>atey</u>
48. minjarii laqi na	<u>sigeya</u> AG	makakawin	
49. pagley <u>sigeya</u> puas makawin	(sigeya) AG si Abunawas na ndana naqan AG -na	LAP lling EXP yuk-	ya "peyqe kita <u>lumaan-lumaan</u> <u>ni lumaq sultan</u> <u>ni astanaq</u> <u>eyle."</u>
50. pagtapit na sigeya ni astanaq	(sigeya) AG si Abunawas	LAP IMM lling IMM	ya "eya, sultan! <u>manggaw konoq</u> <u>kaw!"</u>
51.	AG sultan	yuk IMM	<u>"sian ba eyle?"</u>

<u>Setting and Background</u>	<u>Participants</u>	<u>Events</u>	<u>Collateral</u>
52.	AG -na	yuk- IMM	"aku <u>si Bunawas</u> "
53.	AG -na(=sultan)	yuk- IMM	"Angey na iyan giq?"
54.	AG -na(=Abunawas)	yuk- IMM	"tandaqnu <u>seyan seqku</u> <u>magbeaq tutui.</u> "
55. pagndaq-ndaq sultan boq <u>iya</u> koqkaw	(sultan) (iya)	IMM	
56. <u>naqan siq</u> ley na magagbey maka <u>si</u> <u>Abunawas</u>	(danda aqa) (eq na) (<u>naqan siq</u>) (<u>si</u> <u>Abunawas</u>)	,	<u>danda aqa</u> bey nipagkaramdaman <u>eq na</u>
57. na, puas minnaqan		LAP	mbal niaq bey <u>dapat</u> <u>tahinang eq sultan.</u> (Evaluation)
58.	AG <u>ya</u>	pareoq IMM	
59. jarii ma astanaq minjari sultan	AG <u>si Abunawas</u>	ley maglahat	

"Collateral" information includes anything that does not occur in the other columns. It usually consists of such things as quotations, evaluations given by the narrator, participant evaluations and attitudes, negatives, conditional situations, or anything that does not actually happen.

Band analysis permits the investigation of grouping on the discourse level in terms of surface structure. A second method, participant orientation analysis, permits investigation of deep-structure grouping. I will refer here to surface structure grouping as grammatical grouping, and deep-structure grouping as dramatic or plot-related grouping. We will discuss grammatical grouping first.

I. THE SURFACE STRUCTURE: GRAMMATICAL GROUPING

Looking at the "Setting and Background" column (Table 1) the first thing that becomes apparent is the repeated use of the word minjariq, apparently providing some kind of sectioning of the story. Minjariq is an existential form meaning "to come into being, to exist, to happen." Its peculiar obtrusiveness here gives rise to the hypothesis that in Samal narratives, the major structural groupings are introduced by this word, or by a class of such words, which we can conveniently call Discourse-Level Sequence Markers (DLS). This particular marker appears in Sentences 4, 8, 16, and 45 as minjariq; in 22, 47, and 59 as jarii; and in 19 as jariq.

Let us examine the text at the points where the DLS occur. A comparison of the "Setting and Background" column with the "Participants" column reveals that at every point there occurs either a change in scene or a change in participants. This strengthens our hypothesis that some kind of grouping is marked by the DLS, but it does not tell us whether we have separately marked paragraphs or some larger unit, say episodes, composed of paragraphs.

Since all backbone events in a narrative must be chronologically related, suppose we examine the temporal sequence of these events. It can be observed that there are three types of temporal sequencing between any two events on the backbone. First, two events may occur simultaneously (SIM). Second, one event may immediately follow another event (IMM); and third, one event may follow another after a significant lapse of time (LAP). These are indicated in Table 1 on the vertical line joining the backbone events.

It seems significant for this analysis that lapsed time occurs in almost every case conjointly with the DLS and changes of scene. The co-occurrence of these three features provides evidence that we are dealing with some type of boundary feature, presumably on the surface structure of the discourse. Suppose we tabulate the results (Table 2).

The table shows that boundaries between some sentences are signalled by all three phenomena, while boundaries between certain other sentences are signalled by only one or two features rather than all three. The difference is indicated in the table by the indentation of those sentences lacking all three signals. On the basis of this information we are now in a position to amplify the tentative hypothesis made above with the following statements:

- a. Major structural boundaries occur when all three of the observed boundary signals coincide--i.e., DLS plus lapsed time plus scene change.
- b. Minor structural boundaries occur where at least one but less than three signals occur.
- c. Major structural units consist of one or more of the units marked as minor structures. We will refer to the major structural units as episodes, and the minor structural units as paragraphs.

Table 2: Summary of Boundary Signals and Participant States

BOUNDARY BETWEEN SENTENCES		BOUNDARY SIGNALS	PARTICIPANT STATE
MAJOR	MINOR		
0/1		Narration begins	None
	3/4	DLS	None
7/8		DLS LAP SCENE CHG	None/I
15/16		DLS LAP SCENE CHG	I/I
	18/19	DLS	sr/I
21/22		DLS LAP SCENE CHG	I/I
	28/29	LAP SCENE CHG	I/I
	32/33	LAP	I/sr
	36/37	SCENE CHG	I/I
	40/41	LAP	I/s
	46/47	DLS LAP	I/sr
	47/48	DLS LAP	None
48/49		DLS LAP SCENE CHG	s/s
	49/50	LAP SCENE CHG	s/I
	56/57	LAP	I/r
	58/59	DLS SCENE CHG	r/I

III. THE DEEP STRUCTURE: DRAMATIC GROUPING

Having tentatively established the grammatical grouping, it would be of interest to attempt an analysis of the deep structure. Suppose we perform one other operation, a participant orientation analysis. This is a method suggested by Grimes for describing the rotation of participants through the various case relationships that occur in a narrative. He assumes that each participant holds a key role that is typical for the entire narrative, even though each participant also continues to rotate through several roles. It is necessary, therefore, to identify and rank the key participant roles in order to establish an identity state for the state diagram that will be used for analysis. To determine the key roles I charted the case roles of each participant in each backbone event and in each non-event. When tabulated, this gave the results shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Key Participant Roles

PARTICIPANT	NUMBER OF BACKBONE OCCURRENCES	NUMBER OF NON-EVENT OCCURRENCES	KEY DISCOURSE ROLE	RANK
ABUNAWAS	AG(29X)EXP(8X)		A AGENT	1°
SULTAN	AG(7X)EXP(6X)	EXPERIENCER(1X)	B EXPERIENCER	2°
WIDOW	AG(5X)EXP(4X)	GOAL (6X)	C GOAL	3°
MOTHER	AG(2X)EXP(1X)		C' REPRESENTS WIDOW	3°
BONES	PATIENT(4X)GOAL(3X)	PATIENT (13X)	D PATIENT	4°
UNIDENTIFIED			Ø	5°

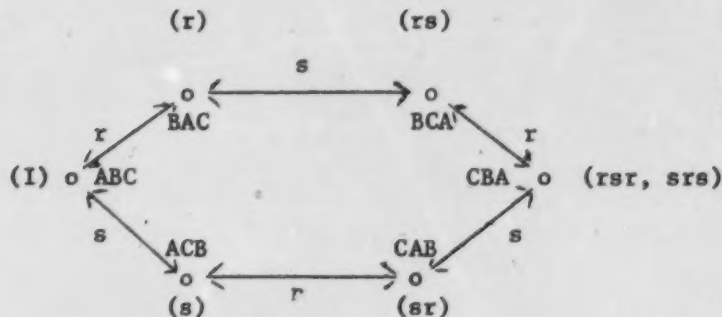
N: represents AGENT; EXP represents EXPERIENCER

Grimes ranks case relations in the following order:

Causer(highest case)
Agent
Experiencer
Goal
Patient
Instrument
Benefactive
Embedded Case
Offstage participant (lowest)

This ranking is used in Table 3 to establish the relative importance of the key roles. On the basis of numerical occurrences, Abunawas clearly carries the key role of Agent. The Sultan appears in the role of both Agent and Experiencer an equal number of times, hence, he must be assigned either as an Agent subordinate to Abunawas or as an Experiencer. Inasmuch as the option seems arbitrary, I have chosen Experiencer. The widow is easily assigned to Goal as a key role. However, the role of her mother is rather ambiguous. On the basis of what is known about Sulu culture, the narrator could not have the girl herself invite Abunawas into the house; so it would appear that the mother is merely introduced in the story to act on behalf of the widow. We will say, therefore, that she represents the widow and assign her to a fourth-degree level of importance. The roles of the remaining participants are unambiguously identified in the table.

If we take the ranking shown in Table 3 to represent the identity state, I, then $I = A, B, C, C', D, E$ in a sequentially ranked set. We can now use the following state diagram as a model in plotting the roles of the participants:



In the diagram, r = reverse (interchange the first two letters of the sequence); and s = switch (interchange the second two letters of the sequence).

The diagram is applied to each backbone event in the narrative and the results are then charted (Table 4). The sentence numbers in this chart refer to backbone events contained in the text. The relationship of the participants acting in each event is shown in the "Resultant State" column. The relationship of the participants prior to the event

is given in the "Previous State" column. The operation required to move from the previous state to the resultant state is shown in the "Operation Applied" column.

The chart is read as follows. $r:BA(C)$ means that for this one specific event, participant B, whose key role in relation to all other participants is normally Experiencer, is now in the role of Agent. On the other hand, participant A, whose key role is Agent, is in a subordinate role of Experiencer, Goal, or Patient. (Precisely which role is determined by which specific predication we may be isolating.) Finally, participant (C) whose key role is Goal, in this case is not involved in the event at all, and this is indicated by the parentheses. The symbol, $r:$, is used as a label to identify the resultant state. (Note that it also refers to the operation required to arrive at a specific event state after starting out from a previous event.) The group theoretic model used here limits participant relationships to a total of three.

It is informative to correlate this information with the boundary signals previously determined. (Refer to the "Participant State" column in Table 2.) Note that at every major grammatical boundary, the two events bracketing the boundary are characterized by identical participant states. This suggests that major dramatic groupings may be signalled by a sequence of at least two events having the same case roles. This does not necessarily mean that each such sequence invariably signals a plot division, since it turns out that these sequences can also occur when there is no division. Rather, these sequences must be considered in conjunction with the grammatical boundaries to serve as a guide to plot divisions.

It should also be noted that except for one instance, at each minor surface structure boundary there is an occurrence of at least one identity state, I.

There is another feature of interest apparent in the chart. Grimes has pointed out that compound operations (e.g., srs) typically occur at points in the narrative of excitement, intense action, etc.. In our narrative, they do in fact occur at the place of greatest conflict and tension, where the narrator is so involved in the story that he exclaims "Aha!" (See sentences 36-37.)

It will be observed that some of the participant state phenomena in the chart do not have a one-to-one correspondence with the grammatical boundary signals. It would seem reasonable to assume that this is because the state diagram truly represents the deep structure and the differences involve skewing, which occurs when the deep structure maps onto the surface structure.

Table 4: State Diagram Analysis of Participants

SENTENCE NO.	STATE	OPERATION APPLIED	RESULTANT STATE
8	I:AB(C)	I	I:AB(C)
9-10	I:AB(C)	r	r:BA(C)
11	r:BA(C)	r	I:AB(C)
12	I:AB(C)	r	r:BA(C)
13	r:BA(C)	r	I:AB(C)
14	I:AB(C)	r	r:BA(C)
15	r:BA(C)	r	I:AB(C)
16	I:AB(C)	I	I:A(B)(C)
17	I:AB(C)	I	I:A(B)(C)
	I:A(B)(E)by substitution	S	s:AE(B)
18	s:AE(B)	r	sr:EA(B)
19	sr:EA(B)	rs	I:A(B)(E)
	I:A(B)(D)by substitution	s	s:AD(B)
20	s:AD(B)	I	s:AD(B)
21	s:AD(B)	s	I:A(B)(D)
22	I:A(B)(C)by substitution	I	I:A(B)(C)
23-24	I:A(B)(C')by substitution	sr	sr:C'A(B)
25	sr:C'A(B)	r	s:AC'(B)
26-27	s:AC'(B)	r	sr:C'A(B)
28	sr:C'A(B)	rs	I:A(B)(C')
29	I:A(B)(C)by substitution	I	I:A(B)(C)
30-31	I:A(B)(D)by substitution	s	s:AD(B)
32	s:AD(B)	s	I:A(B)(D)
33-35	I:A(B)(C)by substitution	sr	sr:C(A)(B)
36	sr:C(A)(D)by substitution	s	sr:CD(A)
	sr:CD(A)	rsr	I:A(C)(D)
37	I:A(B)(C)by substitution	I	I:A(B)(C)
38-40	I:A(C)(C')by substitution	I	I:A(C)(C')
41	I:A(C)(D)by substitution	s	s:AD(C)
42-46	s:AD(C)	s	I:A(C)(D)
47	I:A(B)(C)by substitution	sr	sr:C(A)(B)
48	sr:C(A)(B)	r	s:AC(B)
49	s:AC(B)	I	s:AC(B)
50	s:AC(B)	s	I:AB(C)
51	I:AB(C)	r	r:BA(C)
52	r:BA(C)	r	I:AB(C)
53	I:AB(C)	r	r:BA(C)
54-56	r:BA(C)	r	I:AB(C)
57-58	I:AB(C)	r	r:B(A)(C)
59	r:B(A)(C)	r	I:A(B)(C)

If we accept the deep-structure hypothesis, the text may be divided into the following plot-related groupings: Prologue: Setting and Background (1-7); Complication (8-15); Development (16-36); Climax (37-48); Denouement (49-59).

A. Prologue: Setting and Background (1-7)

Sentence 1 identifies the subject of the narrative and names the hero, Abunawas. The hero is assumed to be well known to the audience (as is the Sultan, who is brought on stage in Sentence 8) since neither the Sultan nor Abunawas rate an existential on-stage introduction. One indication of the central position of Abunawas is contained in the fact that he is the only member of the cast to be given a proper name.

Sentences 2 and 3 serve to introduce the major "new" participant, the beautiful young widow. This participant is brought on stage with an existential and is apparently not assumed to be known to the audience. It is worth noting here that in spite of the fact that only the widow receives an existential introduction, it by no means follows that she is the most important character. As has been shown (Table 3), she ranks third, behind both Abunawas and the Sultan. This apparent contradiction is resolved by the fact that this story is just one of many in which Abunawas and the Sultan play leading roles, but that the widow is the one participant peculiar to this story.

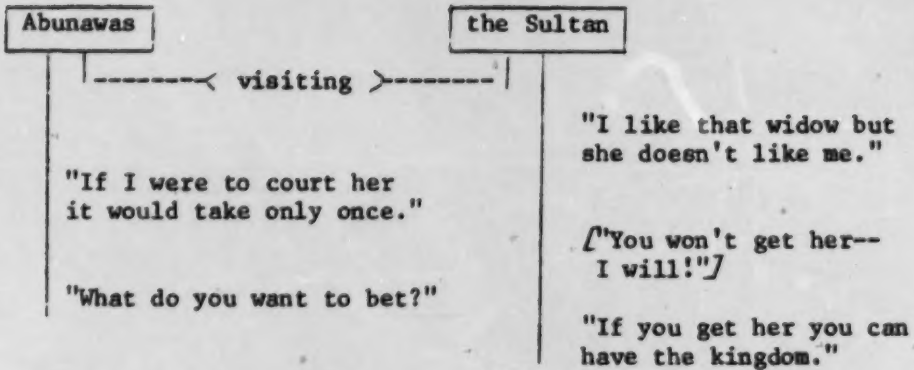
The information given in this section is privileged information--made available to the audience but not to other members of the cast. It is a somewhat confidential description of the widow's hang-up. That it is a description fits with the fact that the section contains no true events. That it is something less than completely public may correlate with the use of agentive forms (*éqna*). The basic incongruity (from a Philippine point of view) between the widow's beauty and her hang-up over re-marriage lays the basis for the complication. (Note the cultural component here. In South Asia widows are not generally considered eligible for re-marriage.)

B. Complication: Act 1 (8-15)

This section introduces the complication that motivates the events of the plot which follows. Abunawas and the Sultan enter into a verbal confrontation that may be summarized as in the diagram below.

The section contrasts sharply with the Prologue. Where the Prologue is information for the audience only, and consists of an exploration of the widow's psyche, this section is overt, and picks up the primary discourse form used in plot development, that of the conversation.

Except for the initial verb, 'visit', the main clause verbs in this section are quotative, and the quoted material appears in object focus (i.e. is given a normal degree of prominence). What goes on in this scene appears to be more or less public (though not known to the widow or her mother). It represents center-stage activity of great intensity and the action it presents occurs within a very short period of time. This section rates as intense, a verbal exchange between visible participants.

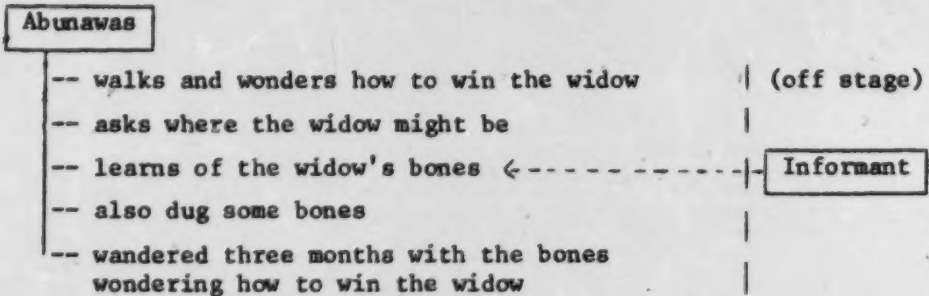


The section also creates the tension that holds until the end of the resolution--the wager forms the stake marking the beginning of the typical focal-content structure which insures significance to the story.

C. Development: Acts 2 - 4 (16-36)

The development of the plot comprises major dramatic groupings which we have called 'acts'. Each act, in turn, consists of sections conveniently labeled as 'scenes'.

Act 2 (16-21). This segment forms a single act with two scenes: 16 - 18, 'The Widow's Bones,' and 19 - 21 'Abunawas's Bones.'



This section contrasts with Act 1 in that it is non-intense. It extends over a relatively long period of time and ranges over vast stretches of territory. It focuses upon Abunawas and his thought. What conversation there is, is given in indirect quotation with the speaker unnamed. What is learned from such conversation, moreover, is privileged information. The whole scene provides space in which the difficulty of Abunawas's task is magnified. The section is highly contemplative, secretive, scheming. The audience is not told anything substantial about the scheme that Abunawas succeeds in formulating, other than the hint that his own set of disinterred bones may somehow prove useful.

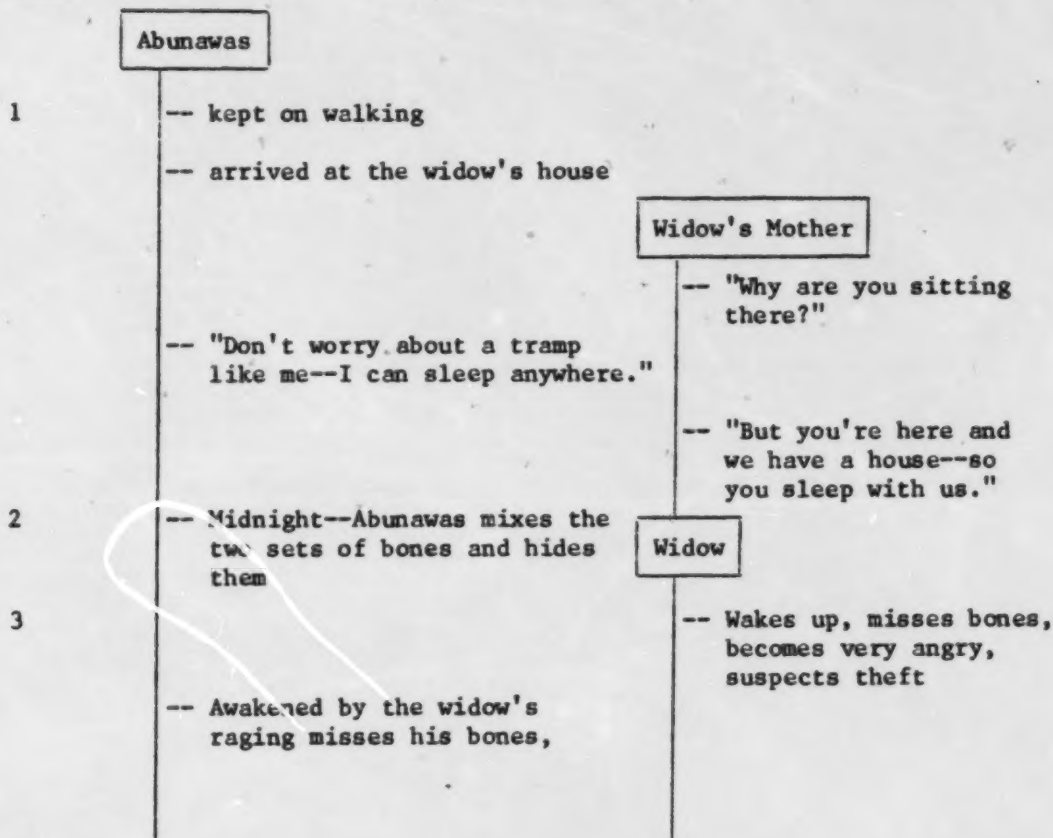
Act 3 (22-28). This section sets the stage for the unveiling of Abunawas' scheme and the conflict soon to follow. After walking and walking, Abunawas arrives at the house of the widow. He declines the invitation when first given, but allows himself to be prevailed upon in the end and thereby gains entrance to the house while appearing to avoid the role of initiator. (Although the mother is cast as the initiator here, it may well be that the rules of hospitality are utilized by Abunawas in such a way as to elicit the invitation, making him, rather than the mother, the actual initiator in this scene. The total absence of grammatical focus upon the mother in these sentences would seem to confirm this latter interpretation.) The scene is quite public.

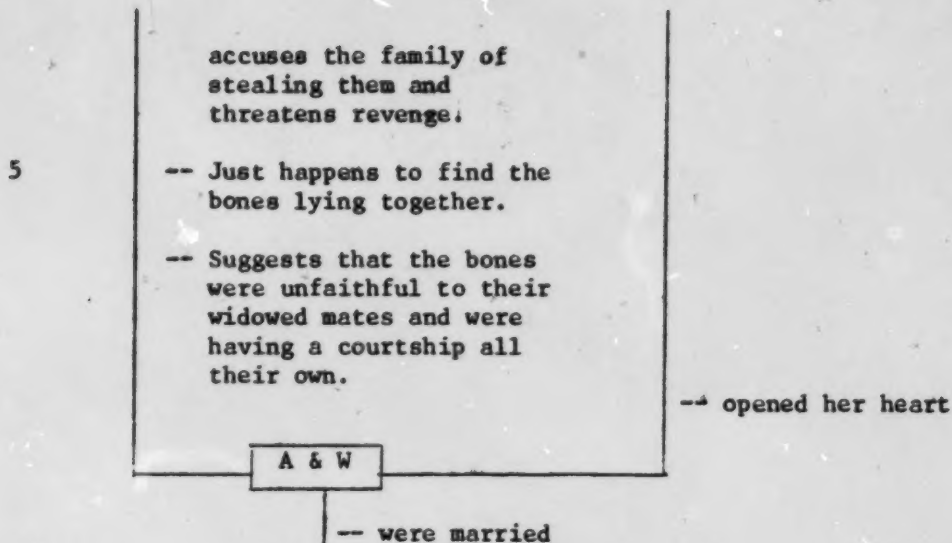
Act 4 (29-36). This section consists of two distinct scenes.

Scene 1 (29-32): In this scene Abunawas hides the bones at midnight. The scene is private--known only to the audience and to Abunawas. The private character of the episode correlates again with the use of the agentive form (éqna).

Scene 2 (33-36): This scene is fairly public and rides primarily upon directly quoted dialogue. Here the widow conducts an angry, noisy search for the missing bones.

Scene





D. Climax: Act 5 (37-48)

This section comprises an act with three scenes.

Scene 1 (37-40): Abunawas threatens the family. The intensity of this scene (as well as that of the next one) is heightened by the use of directly quoted dialogue.

Scene 2 (41-46): Discovery of the unfaithful bones. The events in this scene lead up to the climax of the main plot. The unfaithful bones, having been caught in an affair of their own, provoke a proposal of marriage. The scene would seem to be at least a bit more intimate and private than the eruptions of Act 4 (Scene 2).

Scene 3 (47-48): The climax to the story is, of course, that Abunawas wins the widow.

E. Denouement: Act 6 (49-59)

This section may be thought of as an act consisting of four scenes: Scene 1 (49): The walk to the palace; Scene 2 (50-56): Winning the bet; Scene 3 (57-58): The Sultan deposed; Scene 4 (59): Conclusion. This section is characterized by continual re-grouping of participants.

1



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Table 5: Comparison of Deep and Surface Structures

DEEP STRUCTURE		SURFACE STRUCTURE	
DRAMATIC GROUPING	BOUNDARY SIGNALS	BOUNDARY SIGNALS	GRAMMATICAL GROUPING
PROLOGUE: SETTING & BACKGROUND(1-7)	Narration Begins	Narration Begins	APERTURE (1-3)
		DLS	SETTING (4-7)
ACT 1: COMPLICATION (8-15)	1st main event occurs: Ø/I	DLS;LAP; SCENE CH	EPISODE 1(8-15)
ACT 2: DEVELOPMENT(16-21)			EPISODE 2(16-21)
SCENE 1(16-18)	I/I	DLS;LAP;SCENE CH	PARA 1(16-18)
SCENE 2(19-21)	sr/I	DLS	PARA 2(19-21)
ACT 3:DEVELOPMENT(CONT'D)(22-28)	I/I		EPISODE 3(22-48)
		DLS;LAP; SCENE CH	PARA 1(22-28)
ACT 4: DEVELOPMENT(CONT'D.) (29-36)		LAP	PARA 2(29-32)
SCENE 1(29-32)	I/I	SCENE CH	
SCENE 2(33-36)	I/sr	LAP	PARA 3(33-36)
ACT 5: CLIMAX(37-48)		SCENE CH	PARA 4(37-40)
SCENE 1(37-40)	I/I		
SCENE 2(41-46)	I/s	LAP	PARA 5(41-46)
SCENE 3(47-48)	I/sr	DLS;LAP	PARA 6(47)
		DLS;LAP	PARA 7(48)
ACT 6: DENOUEMENT(49-59)			EPISODE 4(49-59)
SCENE 1(49)	s/s	DLS;LAP; SCENE CH	PARA 1(49)
SCENE 2(50-56)	s/I	LAP	PARA 2(50-56)
		SCENE CH	
SCENE 3(57-58)	I/r	LAP	PARA 3(57-58)
SCENE 4(59)	r/I	DLS	PARA 4(59)

In this chart (which contains elements of Table 2 plus additional information) the skewing between deep and surface structures is evident. The surface structure has certain divisions that are not registered in the deep structure (see, e.g., sentences 1-7). The deep structure, on the other hand, does not reflect more divisions than the surface structure, but it does indicate some major divisions (acts) where the surface structure shows only minor divisions (paragraphs). It is thus evident that the dramatic structure is not in a one-to-one correspondence with grammatical structure, although there is a general and systematic correspondence.

IV. CONCLUSION

The use of the two techniques described in this paper—participant orientation analysis and band analysis—offers a systematic methodology for analyzing deep and surface structures of textual materials. By charting and comparing the results of the two methods, basic structures can be determined such as major and minor groupings. Details of formal features internal to the various divisions are not necessarily revealed, although in some cases these may be hinted at. (For example, identical case roles bracketing a boundary suggest tail-head linkages.) The greatest advantage in using both techniques for analysis may be the cross checking made possible between deep and surface structures in arriving at textual divisions. Although some skewing occurs, there should be general and systematic agreement between both levels, and any wide divergence is cause for a re-evaluation of the text. Systematic application of these techniques to several texts should lead to a high level of confidence in structural types for any specific language.

It is perhaps this characteristic of "general and systematic correspondence" that may prove most useful. The indications of major and minor divisions on both the deep and surface levels, while not coincident, should nevertheless demonstrate a correspondence that can be mapped and still retain cohesiveness and continuity. There should also be correspondence between the subordination of units on both levels — i.e., episode/paragraph versus act/scene. Again, however, these need not be in a one-to-one relationship. In short there should be, throughout, systematic correspondence but not congruence. (Correspondence in this sense permits skewing.)

Appendix: Samal of Sibutu:
Abunawas and the Beautiful Widow

Abbreviations Used

ABL	Abilitive	INT	Intensifier
ADJ	Adjectival Marker	NEG	Negative
AF	Actor Focus	NF	Non-focused
AG	Agentiva Marker	NML	Nominalizer
CND	Conditional Marker	OF	Object Focus
CP	Completive Particle	PIP	Past Incomplete Particle
CS	Causative	PL	Plural
DIR	Directional	PST	Past Complete Particle
DLS	Discourse Level Sequence Marker	RCP	Reciprocal
DST	Distributive	RF	Referent Particle
EXC	Exclamation	RL	Remote Location Marker
GER	Gerundive	RP	Remote Past
INCP	Incompletive Particle	TF	Time Focus

1. tutu kata-kata si Abunawas. 2. niaq
 this (is a) story (of) Abunawas there

 dikayu danda landuq jantiq. 3. bahaqu giq
 is one woman very pretty new INCP

umulna sogoq laqi na ya balu.
 age-her but PIP CP she widow

4. minjariiq danda naqan nikelohan eq
 DLS woman that OF-desire-OF by

heka mandussia sampey siga sultan, 5. sogoq
 many people including PL sultans but

danda naqan mbal mehelu na maghalla pabalik.
 woman that NEG AF-want CP AF,DUR-marry CS-return

6. ya tandaqna kasi, ngentom ma hallana,
 NML sign-her love AF-remember to husband-her

eq na ngali toqolang hallana boq eq na
 by her AF-dig bones husband-her then by her

1. This is a story
 of Abunawas. 2.
 There was a certain
 young woman who was
 very beautiful. .
 3. Though she was
 still young, she was
 already a widow.

4. Now many men de-
 sired that woman,
 even including sul-
 tans. 5. But the
 woman did not want
 to marry again.

6. It was a sign of
 her love that she re-
 membered her husband
 by digging up his
 bones, wrapping them
 with a red cloth,
 and carrying them
 home with her.

maka kakanaq kent, eq na moa moleq
AF-wrap with cloth red by her AF-carry AF-go

ni lumaq 7. sangom-sangom niboa eq na
home to house night-night OF-carry by her

magulid tuli
AF-DUR-lay together AF-sleep

8. minjarii dikayuq waktu si Abunawas
DLS one time Abunawas

magndaq maka Sultan 9. ya lling Sultan,
AF-see and Sultan. NML OF-say Sultan

"Abunawas, mehelu aku ma balu naqan, 10. sogoq
Abunawas AF-like I to widow that but

mbal mehelu ma aku." 11. ya lling si Abunawas,
NEG AF-like to me NML OF-say Abunawas

"bang aku ya melohan, niaq min tadda ru."
CND I her AF-like there only once INT

12. yuk Sultan, "bang kaqu sab ya kinelohan
OF-say Sultan CND you INT he -OF-love-OF

min aku, Sultan, magndaq na kita."
from me Sultan AF-RCP-see CP me, you, D

13. "na" yuk si Abunawas, "iyan ya pagtukanta?"
now OF-say Abunawas what NML OF-DUR-

14. yuk Sultan, "bang kaqu" yukna
betting-our OF-say Sultan CND you OF-say-

"nikelohan eq danda ili, kaqu niaq Sultan."
he OF-desire-OF by woman that you will be Sultan

15. "aa hap" yuk si Abunawas
ah, good OF-say Abunawas

16. minjarii maglunsulan na si
DLS AF-DUR-go to end fro CP

Abunawas mamikil bang bate ingga eq na ngaddoq
Abunawas AF-think CND like which by him AF-get

danda naqan 17. lumaan ya parahoopoq-parahoopoq
woman that AF-walk he from end to end

7. Every night she
took them and slept
beside them.

8. Now once Abunawas
and the Sultan were
visiting one another.

9. The Sultan said
"Abunawas, I like
that widow, 10. but
she doesn't like
me." 11. Abunawas
said, "If I were to
court her it would
take only once."

12. "If you are
loved instead of me,"
said the Sultan,
"let us see now..."

13. "Alright," said
Abunawas, "what will
be our wager?"

14. "If you gain that
woman's affection,"
said the Sultan,
"you will become the
Sultan." 15. "Ah,
good!" said Abunawas.

16. So then,
Abunawas went to and
fro, thinking of how
he might get that
woman. 17. Walking
from one end to the
other he asked where
that woman might be.

tinilaw eq na bang ley minggu na danda naqan.
OF-ask by him CND PIP where CP woman that

18. nihakaqan ya, danda naqan siq, ya bey nihinang
OF-tell NML woman that RF NML PST OF-do

eq na, bey ngali kubul hallana boq eq na
by her PST AF-dig grave husband-her then by her

mutus maka kakanag keat, ya na niqulid
AF-wrap with cloth red which CP OF-lay beside

eq na sangom.
by her night.

19. jariq, tapikil eq si Bunawas boq
DLS OF-ABL-think by Abunawas then

peqe ya sab ngali toqolang. 20. pinutus sab
there NML also AF-dig bones OF-wrap also

eq na maka kakanag poteq boq niboag sab
by him with cloth white then OF-carry also

eq na maglunsulan. 21. niaq
by him AF-DUR-walking to and fro. there were

tallum bulan ya maglunsulan ni bihing
three months he AF-DUR-walk to and fro to side

tahik sampey nijalum talun mamikil bang bete
sea up to inside forest AF-think CND like

ingga eq na ngaddoq helo danda naqan.
which by him AF-get love woman that

22. jariq, taka-taka eq lumaan eq si
DLS continuously by AG-AF-walk by

Bunawas ley ya takka ni lumaq danda naqan
Abunawas PIP he AF-arrive to house woman that

siq ya lling nggoq danda "angey kaqi ningkooq-
RF NML OF-say mother woman why you AF-sitting

ningkooq milu ma bihing haron? 24. manna sab
there at edge stairs reason also

koq niaq lumaq pasakatan mandussia." 25. eq
INT there is house AF-go up people by

18. He was told what that same woman had done: She had dug up her husband's grave, wrapped (the bones) in a red cloth, and laid them beside her at night.

19. So then, Abunawas thought he would also dig up some bones.

20. He wrapped them in a white cloth and carried them about as he walked to and fro. 21. Three months passed as he wandered to and fro from the shore of the sea to the depths of the forest, wondering how he might win the affection of that woman.

22. But Abunawas kept on walking until he finally arrived at the house of that very woman. 23. The woman's mother said, "Why are you just sitting there on the edge of the stairs? 24. Surely houses are for people to go into." 25. "Don't you bother about people like us, peddlers and tramps," said Abunawas, "We are able to sleep

lling si Bunawas "mageynu bateq kami tutu"
OF-say Abunawas never mind like we this

yukna "aqa dagan, aqa sampig, minsan mitu
OF-say-he person seller person drifter even here

ma tanaq jari ru kami tuli." 26. eq lling
at ground able INT we AF-sleep by OF-say

nggoq danda naqan "sarin sab koq bang
mother woman that contr-factual also INT CND

sikiya kaw ma paglahat, mitu niaq lumaq,
NEG you at DUR-plat here there is house

mingga-mingga sab patulihannu sogoq hap na
anywhere also NML-sleep-you but good CP

kaw pasakat. 27. "tuli na kaw mitu." 28. laqi
you AG-go up AF-sleep CP you here PIP

na si Bunawas meaq pasakat.
CP Abunawas AF-go along AF-go up.

29. pagtaqabut tongaq bahangi, loddok
OF-SIM-ABL-reach half night soundly

pin tuli danda naqan manggahang na boq
already AF-sleep woman that AF-snore CP then

peqe na pagagap-gagap si Abunawas. 30. eq na
there CP AF-creep Abunawas by him

moa toqolang eq na mutus maka kakanag
AF-carry bones by him AF-wrap with cloth

pote naqan siq, boq peqe na pinagbawl eq
white that RF then there CP OF-DUR-mix by

na maka toqolang bey halla danda naqan siq
him with bones PST husband woman that RF

31. eq na magbawl boq peqe eq na ngengkot
by him AF-DUR-mix then there by him AF-tie

majalom tuqung. 32. boq ya tuli pabalik.
inside box. then he AF-sleep again

33. loddok na tuli si Bunawas sampey
soundly CP AF-sleep Abunawas until

even here on the ground." 26. "That would certainly be true if you were not at someone's dwelling," said the woman's mother, "but here there is a house. Even though you could sleep anywhere, it would be better for you to come on up. 27. "You sleep here now." 28. So Abunawas went on up.

29. When midnight arrived and the woman was soundly asleep, snoring, Abunawas crept up to her silently. 30. He carried those bones of his, wrapped in his white cloth and put them in with the bones of that woman's former husband. 31. He mixed them up together and tied them inside a box. 32. Then he went back to sleep.

33. Abunawas slept soundly and did not wake up until morn-

subuq mbal ya bey kabatiq. 34. aha! pagbati
morning NEG he PST ABL-awake EXC SIM-awake

danda subu hiluhalaq na danda. 35. "ley mingga,"
woman morning angry CP woman RL where

yukna "toqolang hallaku? mbal na luqun!"
OF-say-she bones husband-mine NEG CP here

yukna, "niaq bey nangkaw iya."
OF-say-she there is PST AF-steal someone

36. taka-taka liruq danda naqan siq, miha
continuously raging woman that RF AF-search

toqolang hallana, ley makabatiq si Abunawas.
bones husband-her PIP AF-ABL-awake Abunawas.

37. pagbati si Abunawas sab naqan bulloq-
SIM-awake Abunawas also that pretend

bulloq sab ya miha bang mingga na toqolang
also he AF-look CND where CP bones

ya eq na mutus siq, niannan eq na toqolang
NML by him AF-wrap RF OF-call by him bones

ndana. 38. paganu siq yuk si Abunawas
wife-his then RF OF-say Abunawas

"matey na kam. 39. "hangan du hati
AF-die CP you PL perhaps INT reason

pinasakat aku eq bi piqitu, pinatuli
CS-OFF-come up I by you DIR-here CS-OFF-sleep

aku eq bi ma lumaqbi, supaya takoleqbi,
I by you to house-your so that OF-ABL-get-you

tatangkawbi" yukna "toqolang ndaku."
OF-ABL-steal-you OF-say-he bones wife-my

40. "na laggana kam."
CP be warned you PL

41. boq pagtaka-taka eq magpiha na
then SIM-continuously AG AF-search CP

siq laqi tatammu ma loqok-loqok eq si
RF PIP OF-ABL-find at small corner by

ing. 34. Upon awaken-
ing then next morning
that woman became

(exceedingly) angry.

35. "Where are my
husband's bones?"

she said. "They are
not here! Someone
has stolen them."

36. Ranting and rav-
ing, that woman woke
Abunawas (while)

looking for the bones
of her husband.

37. As he awoke,
Abunawas pretended
to look for his bones,
the bones he had
wrapped up and called
the bones of his
wife. 38. Then it
was that Abunawas
said, "You are all
dead! 39. Perhaps
the reason you in-
vited me to come and
sleep in your house
was so that you could
get--indeed--steal
the bones of my wife.
40. Now you had bet-
ter watch out!"

41. Then after long
searching, Abunawas
just happened to
find (his bones) in
a little nook.

Abunawas 42. yuk si Abunawas "nganda ba
 Abunawas OF-say Abunawas AF-look PR
 kam." 43. "angey," yukna "toqolang ndaku
 you PL why OF-say-he bones wife-my
 maka toqolang hallanu," yukna "ley
 and bones husband-your OF-say-he RL
 magdikayuq majalom tuqung? 44. "saula-ula,"
 AF-RCP-together inside box as if
 yukna "sigiya tutu magkehelo. 45. bang sidja,"
 OF-say-he they this AF-RCP-love CND only
 yukna, "bey siga toqolang tutu taqu missala,
 OF-say-he PST PL bones these know AF-speak
 ngahaka ma kita arapun: 'kaqu,' yukna,
 AF-tell to us D really you OF-say-he
 'Bunawas, daqa na kaw ngentom maqaku,'
 Abunawas NEG CP you AF-remember to-me
 dimikian sab hallanu ili hilling ma kaqu
 likewise also husband-your there OF-say to you
 daqa na kaw ngentom maqiya. minjarii,"
 NEG CP you AF-remember to him it being so
 yukna, "bang bete ili," yukna, "ya pikilan
 OF-say-he CND like that OF-say-he NML OF-think
 toqolang siga baluta magkehelo sigeya.
 bones PL window-our AF-RCP-love they

46. "gamdu sab kita," yukna, "magkehelo."
 better also I, you OF-say-he AF-RCP-love

47. jarii na ley talbukaq atey danda
 DLS CP PIP OF-ABL-open liver woman
 naqan siq.
 that RF

48. minjarii laqi na sigeya makakawin
 DLS PIP CP they AF-ABL-wed

42. "You all look here!" Abunawas said.
 43. "How is it," he asked, "that the bones of my wife and the bones of your husband are mixed together inside this box? 44. "It is as if these (bones) are in love," he said. 45. "If only these bones knew how to speak they would say to us, 'You, Bunawas, you stop thinking about me'. Likewise your husband would also tell you to stop thinking about him. "Well then" he said, "If that is how those widowed bones of ours think, they must be in love with each other! 46. "In that case," he said, "it is better that we also fall in love."

47. So then, that woman opened her heart, and

48. they were married.

49. pagley sigeya puas makakawin, ya
then they finish AF-RCP-wed NML

lling si Abunawas ma ndana naqan, "peyqe
OF-say Abunawas to wife-his that DIR-there

kita lumaan-lumaan," yukna "ni lumaq Sultan
I, you AF-walk OF-say-him to house Sultan

ni astanaq eyle."
to palace there

50. pagtapit na sigeya ni astanaq, ya lling
SIM-near CP they to palace NML OF-say

si Abunawas, "eya, Sultan! manggaw konoq kaw!"
Abunawas Hey Sultan! AF-look PR you

51. yuk Sultan, "siyan ba eyli?" 52. "aku"
OF-say Sultan who PR there I

yukna "si Bunawas." 53. "angey na iyan giq?"
OF-say-he Abunawas why CP what INCP

yukna. 54. "tandaqnu," yukna, "seyan
OF-say-he OF-ABL-see-you OF-say-he who

seqku magbeaq tutui." 55. pagndaq-ndaq
friend-mine AF-RCP-bring this OF-DUR-look

Sultan, boq iya koqkaw. 56. danda aqa
Sultan then he dumbfounded woman person

bey nipagkaramdaman eq na, naqan siq ley na
PST OF-DUR-ABL-desire by him that RF PIP CP

magagbey maka si Abunawas.
AF-RCP-arm-in-arm with Abunawas

57. na, puas minnaqan mbal niaq bey
CP finish from-that NEG there is PST

dapat tahinang eq Sultan. 58. pareoq ya.
nothing OF-ABL-do by Sultan DIR-go down he

59. jariiq ley maglahat ma astanaq,
DLS PIP AF-DUR-live at palace

minjariq Sultan si Abunawas.
able to be Sultan Abunawas

49. When the wedding
was over Abunawas
said to his wife,
"Let's walk over to
the palace, to the
house of the Sultan."

50. As they neared
the palace, Abunawas
called out, "Hey,
Sultan, take a look!"
51. "Who's there?"
replied the Sultan.
52. "It's me, Bunawas,"
he said. 53. "Well
what is it you want
now?" he (the Sul-
tan) said. 54. "Take
a look," said
Abunawas, "at this
friend of mine who
has come with me."
55. Then the Sultan
looked and looked,
and he was just dumb-
founded. 56. The
very woman whom he
had desired, that
one was arm in arm
with Abunawas!

57. After that there
was nothing the Sul-
tan could do. 58. He
had to go.

59. Abunawas suc-
ceeded in becoming
Sultan and lived
at the palace.

FOCUS RANKING IN TBOLI DISCOURSE¹

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The aim of this paper is to identify the various factors that can be shown to influence the choice of focused items in Tboli clauses and to indicate how they interrelate within a discourse.

The term 'focused item' is used to refer to that noun phrase or verbal complement within a clause which stands in a special relationship to the predicate and is so marked by the form of affixation found in the predicate. The term 'focus' is used to refer to the special relationship that holds between such predicate--complement pairs. The term 'focused item' as used here is equivalent to the term 'clause topic' in Porter, forthcoming, and to the term 'subject' in McKaughan, 1973.

The factors that seem clearly relevant to the choice of focused item in Tboli are the following:

1. Verb classes and how they rank roles within the clause,
2. Eligibility for focus and participant groupings,
3. Promotion and demotion, exceptions to normal ranking, and
4. Continuity and conflict among participant groupings within discourse.

We will discuss each of these in turn. The paper concludes with an illustrative text.

1. Verb Classes And How They Rank Roles Within The Clause.

The marking of focused items in Tboli is accomplished primarily by verbal affixation. Although it is true that there are both focused and nonfocused pronouns, and that in noun phrases which have personal names as their heads there are two determiners which can mark the phrase as nonfocused, in the majority of instances in running text the only overt marking of focus is given by the focus affix in the verb. A further characteristic of the focus system in Tboli which may be related to this is the constraint that only noun phrases or complements in nuclear roles can be brought into focus, and that for any given verb class there is one role that is placed in focus by the lack of overt focus affixation (or, if one prefers, by a zero affix).

The statement that focused items are marked primarily by verbal cross reference affixes needs elaboration in one other respect. The term, verb, is used only of a class of roots that for many other languages would be referred to as transitive verbs. The remaining predicates that

would be referred to as intransitive verbs, descriptives and the like are viewed as statives. Statives are of two sorts, inherent and derived. Inherent statives cross reference to a focused item with Zero affixation. The following are examples of this.

1. Hulô kudà Kasi.
 red horse Kasi
 'Kasi's horse is red.'
2. Tey tahà fét ni.
 Intensive long rope this
 'This rope is very long.'
3. Tey tungô tau ni.
 Intensive sleep person this
 'This person really sleeps.'

Hulô 'red', tahà 'long', and tungô 'sleep' are the statives in these examples. For each of these statives there is one and only one role that can be in focus, and cross reference to that role is accomplished by zero affixation. Since what is to be discussed in this paper is primarily the set of factors that underlies the choice of focused item, statives need no discussion since they allow no such choice.

What remains after the exclusion of statives are two classes of verbs that are distinguished from one another by the role that is brought into focus with zero affixation. For Class I verbs it is the patient that is brought into focus in this way and for Class II verbs it is the instrument. In each case the focused role can be visualized as the role that stands in an intermediate position between the agent which initiates the action and the third role (whether beneficiary or patient) that stands at the end point of the action as the ultimate recipient or goal. In both classes of verbs the agent is brought into focus with an affix, m-, (which becomes an infix, -em-, on roots with initial consonant clusters) and the role at the end point of the action is brought into focus with an affix, n-, (which becomes an infix, -en-, on roots with initial consonant clusters). Classes I and II differ, then in the focused roles that stand at the midpoints and at the end points of their respective transitive ranges of action. In both cases the role brought into focus by zero affixation is the prefocused role. Other things being equal, if there is an eligible noun phrase in the prefocused role it will be the focused noun phrase of the clause. Failing that, if there is an eligible noun phrase in the 'end-point' or n- focused role, it will be the focused noun phrase of the clause. Failing that, and usually only under rather special conditions, an eligible agent can be focused upon. The ranking of role foci for the two classes of verbs is summarized in Figure 1.

<u>Focus Affixes</u>	<u>Focused Roles for Class I Verbs</u>	<u>Focused Roles for Class II Verbs</u>
Ø	Patient	Instrument
<u>n-</u> / <u>-en-</u>	Beneficiary	Patient
<u>m-</u> / <u>-em-</u>	Agent	Agent

Figure 1. Verb classes and the ranking of role foci which define them.

Zero affixation with focus upon the prefocused role can be illustrated for Class I verbs by the following sentence.

4. Blay Kasi kuda-en ke Gadu.
 give Kasi horse-his Det Gadu
 'Kasi gave his horse to Gadu.'

(Det stands for determiner.)

In this sentence, blay 'give' is the verb without affixation. Kasi is the agent, ke Gadu is the beneficiary (where ke is a nonfocused determiner used only with proper names) and kuda-en 'his horse' is the patient as well as the focused item.

A similar example can be given for the Class II verbs.

5. Deng angay Min ke Ting kudà Kasi.
 Concomitant action fetch Min Det Ting horse Kasi.
 'Min fetched Ting with Kasi's horse.'

Again the verb, angay 'fetch', appears without affixation. Min is the agent; Ting, the patient with nonfocused determiner; and kudà Kasi 'Kasi's horse' is the focused instrument.

The lower ranked roles for the verbs of each class can also be in focus but before looking at examples it will be profitable to consider what is involved in the notion of 'eligibility' for focus.

2. Eligibility For Focus And Participant Groupings.

It is not always the case that the focused item is the constituent in the highest ranked role. To be eligible for focus at all a constituent must refer to an entity which is to some extent a specific known bounded whole. The focused item, then, is the eligible constituent with the highest ranked role.⁶ In Examples 4 and 5 the highest ranked role for each of the respective verb classes represented was eligible for focus since Kasi's horse is a specific known bounded whole within the context. In Examples 6 and 7, however, the noun phrases with the highest ranked roles are not eligible for focus.

6. Benlay Kasi Gadu kudà.
 give Kasi Gadu horse
 'Kasi gave a horse to Gadu.'

7. Bemlay Kasi kudà.
 give Kasi horse
 'Kasi gives horses away.'

In Example 6 the highest ranked role is patient, but the patient noun phrase is neither specific nor known, so focus passes to the highest ranked eligible role, namely to the beneficiary, Gadu. In Example 7 the patient is not eligible, the beneficiary is not specified, and as a result focus passes on to the agent, Kasi.

The same kind of relationship between eligibility and role ranking is illustrated for Class II verbs by Examples 8 and 9.

8. Deng nangay Min Ting.
 Concomitant action fetch Min Ting
 Pred Agt Pat
 'Min fetched Ting.'

9. Deng mangay Min tau.
 Concomitant action fetch Min people
 Pred Agt Pat
 'Min has fetched some people.'

(Pred stands for predicate; Agt, for agent; and Pat, for patient.) In Example 8 the highest ranked role, that of instrument, is not specified and so focus is allowed to pass to the next highest role, that of patient represented by Ting, which as a proper name refers to a specific known bounded whole within the context. In Example 9 the patient is not specific, the instrument is not specified, and thus focus falls upon the agent, Min.

It could be claimed that in Tboli discourse, participants are never brought on stage in focus, but that participants can be focused upon only after proper introduction. The support given to such a claim by casual inspection of texts, however, is not entirely transparent.

In the story of Tò Tit given at the end of this paper, for example, the bird, tukol is brought on stage in Sentence 5 as a focused patient. Further on in the text the plant which is to become the tree of wealth is brought on stage as a focused patient (Sentence 23). It is also somewhat difficult to see just how these eligibility requirements apply to instances in which the focused item is an embedded clause as is the case in Sentence 31.

Paradoxically, however, as one finds more and more apparent exceptions to this claim in the story of Tò Tit, a possible modification of this claim begins to look increasingly attractive. In Sentence 36 guns are brought on stage as focused instruments. In Sentence 37 an expensive Moslem material is brought on stage as a focused instrument, as are the beads in Sentence 38, the 'sticky ocean' in Sentence 39, the brass wire and the money in 40, the gold and the skirt material in 41, and the clouds in 42. What seems to be going on in this passage is not the introduction of new props that are totally unrelated to one another, but is rather the elaboration of an established prop grouping that has already been defined by the tree. The fact that each of the focused instruments is part of an extended simile which identifies the tree as the source of wealth which will supply the orphans' lack and thereby resolve the narrative complication lends further support to this view.

What would this suggest as an explanation of tukol's entrance on stage as a focused patient or of the fact that the tree is also first referred to as a focused patient? The extension seems quite natural. The tree is a representative of tukol, and does not establish a new participant or prop grouping when it arrives on stage. The tree is an extension of tukol, another manifestation of tukol, willed by tukol and foreseen by him. As it comes on stage it represents an already established participant grouping. And what about tukol? He appears to step right into the participant grouping first established by Tò Tit's mother and father in Sentence 1. At this point the only thing we can suggest about embedded clauses that fall into focus is that these focus relations are governed by clause level grammatical considerations of an entirely different nature.

Our revised hypothesis for Tboli would then be that a participant-prop grouping is not introduced in focus but that once such a plot-related grouping has been established, the group can be expanded by in-focus references to new representatives of the group and these representatives can be viewed as specific, known, bounded wholes by virtue of their relationship to an established participant grouping.

It seems quite plausible to say, for example, that when the hero is brought on stage he brings with him all his body parts, his weapons, and his cohorts and that by virtue of his having been brought properly on stage, these other members of the group are all eligible for focus, whether they have been explicitly referred to before or not. Similarly, in a procedural discourse, for example, on basket weaving, once the procedure is introduced properly any ingredient prop, such as a particular piece of bamboo is eligible for in-focus reference even

though it has not specifically been mentioned before within the context.⁸

3. Promotion And Demotion: Exceptions To Normal Ranking.

What has been said to this point is that in Tboli clauses there is a ranking of roles for focus that is controlled by the verb. If we distinguish three role types, 1) initiator of the action, 2) mediator of the action, and 3) terminal point of the action, we can then say that the highest ranked role will be the mediator role, the next highest, the terminal role, and the lowest, the initiator role. Furthermore, we have distinguished between eligible noun phrases that are specific definite wholes associated with an established participant grouping on the one hand as over against ineligible noun phrases that are either nonspecific or not associated with an established grouping on the other. It is the interaction between role ranking and eligibility that defines the normal choice of focused item at clause level. Thus, the item chosen for focus within a verbal clause will be the highest ranked role that is represented by an eligible noun phrase.

Focus, however, also performs a cohesive function in discourse, and this cohesive function is something it shares with a rather different structure, namely, that of sentence topic. If this discourse function is to be performed, there must be ways of manipulating or bypassing the normal rules for focus assignment in such a way as to give adequate in focus representation to discourse topics and section topics. To this point the one device that might be posited as a way to manipulate the ranking so as to keep a given participant in focus over a longer stretch of text in spite of its participation in a variety of roles is that of noun phrase eligibility. A writer or speaker can keep a participant in focus in whatever role the participant happens to have provided there is no eligible noun phrase in any higher ranked role within the clauses concerned. It would seem, however, that this does not allow sufficient flexibility in focus choice to permit focus its proper function in discourse and, in fact, this is not the only device available for manipulation of the focus hierarchy. There are several devices in Tboli for circumventing the normal selection of focused item by reference to role ranking.

Important in this respect are those devices that allow the promotion of an agent into focus regardless of what other roles are represented by eligible noun phrases within the clause. One such device is emphatic preposing. Consider, for example, the following sentence.

10. Nwit Juan nga-en ebè yem tau mulung.
 PF, took Juan child-his Spec person doctor
 'Juan took his child to the doctor.'

(PF stands for patient focus; Spec, for specifier.)
 As the sentence stands the highest ranking eligible participant is 'his child' and under normal clause rules of focus, this would be the only possible choice. If, however, the structure of the discourse requires

that the agent, 'Juan' be the focused item, it is possible to promote Juan into focus by emphatic preposing.

11. Juan mit du yem nga-en ebè yem tau mulung.
 Juan AF. took NT Spec child-his Spec person doctor
 'Juan took his child to the doctor.'

(NT stands for nontopic marker; AF, for agent focus.)

Emphatic preposing is, of course, not limited to agents, but it does allow a participant other than the highest ranked one to be chosen as the focused item.

A second device is that of sentence topicalization. This device circumvents the ranking imposed by the verb by transforming the whole into a topic-comment structure in which the verb is forced to acknowledge the topic by focus cross reference. The following sentence is the outcome of sentence topicalization.

12. Bong hangahen fi debwak, laen bolen ke là hlò
 as for branches LM downstream not-is mixture-its if not all
kawat.
 brass wire

'As for the branches facing downstream, there is nothing else intermingled in them but only brass wire (used for making jewelry).'
 Tò Tit, Sentence 40

The verb, 'intermingle' calls for 'brass wire' to be topic. However, 'the branches' are made referentially prominent by preposed topicalization.

A third such device is the agent emphasis particle, fen 'to be the one'. This particle may substitute for the noun phrase in sentence topic position. In the clause,

13. Nwit yem logi yó kem kimu.
 PF, carries the man that plural dowry
 'The man carries the dowry.'

The dowry is the focused item. It is possible, however, to make the man in some sense focal or topical by recasting this sentence as follows.

14. Fen nwit yem logi yó kem kimu.
 agent emphasis PF, carries the man that plural dowry
 'The man is the one who carries the dowry.'

A fourth such device involves imbedding the sentence into the complement of a higher level predicate which has the desired focus characteristics. In a quotation sentence with a single quotation verb the quotation is the ranking item for focus. Thus we have sentences such as the following.

15. Mon-en "E wè btik-i kun."
 QF, say-she Oh friend wake-you PR
 'She said, "Friend, wake up!"'

In this sentence the quotation is the focused item. It is possible, however, to focus upon the actor of the quotation verb by embedding such a sentence as the complement of another verb as in the following.

16. M-udél yem ngà mon-en "E wè btik-i kun."
 S,AF,speak the child say,QF-she Oh friend wake-you PR
 'The child spoke and said, "Friend, wake up!"'

A fifth such device involves certain particles that occur in prepredicate position and which attract actor pronouns to that position and in so doing impose actor focus upon the verb. Interestingly enough, one of the more prominent sets of such particles, while imposing the actor focus form upon the verb requires the nonfocus form of the attracted actor pronoun. It would appear that this focus demotion of the attracted actor does not have the function of putting the actor out of focus, but rather is used at points in a discourse at which the action of the verb is placed in higher prominence than the participants. We will refer to such attracted pronouns as fronted, demoted, infocus agents. A few of the particles involved in this are the following: ne e 'now', lel 'besides', omin 'then', igo 'while', klawi 'for the length of time of', gu laan 'before'. For examples see Sentences 24, 35, 54, and 57 of the appended text.

4. Continuity And Conflict Among Participant Groupings Within Discourse.

It has long been recognized that the choice of focused items falls under constraints from discourse. The discourse pressures upon focus choices in Tboli appear to be of two sorts. In nonconflict or build-up passages, focus provides continuity by remaining for the most part upon a single participant or participant grouping throughout a section. The in-focus item for the section can then be considered to be something like a section topic or participant theme. In conflict or climax passages, on the other hand, the stage is crowded and focus shifts from one side of the conflict to the other. The behavior of focus patterns in non-conflict passages is well portrayed in Figures 2 through 7, which chart the focused items of the story of Tò Tit. The behavior of focus patterns in conflict situation can be seen in Figures 8 through 12 which chart the focused forms of the story of Hnu and the Big Spirit.

	Discourse Topic: Needy Participant	Section Topic: Benefactor	
	Tò Tit	Tukol	The Tree
4.	Tò Tit		
5.		Tukol	
6.		Tukol	
7.		"o" (me)	
8.		Tukol	
9.		Tukol	
		"o" (me)	
11.		Tukol	
		"o" (me)	
12.		"o" (me)	
13.		"o" (me)	
15.		Tukol	
16.		Tukol	
		"o" (me)	
17.		"o" (me)	
18.		"o" (me)	
19.		Ø (him)	
20.		"o" (me)	
23.			the beginning of the growth of the plant
		the voice of Tukol	

Figure 2. Chart of in-focus props and participants in Act 1 (Sentences 4 - 25) to Tò Tit. [The numbers in the left-hand column are sentence numbers. Horizontal lines in this column are paragraph breaks. Items listed within quotes occur in embedded quotation.]

Discourse	
Topic: Needy Participant	Section Topic: Benefactor
To Tit	The Tree and its Fruit
28.	/it/
29.	beads
30.	/it/
31.	the place where To Tit's head lay
33.	To Tit
35.	Ø (it)
36.	guns
37.	Moslem material
38.	beads
39.	sticky ocean
40.	brass wire
	money
41.	branch
	gold
	skirt material
42.	clouds
45.	skirt material
46.	skirt material

Figure 3. Chart of in-focus props and participants in Act II (Sentences 26 - 47). [Items within slant lines are fronted, demoted infocus agents.]

Section Topic: Girl		Girl's Benefactors		Father
Girl		Enchanted Tree Complex	Girl's Mother	Father
50.	this child			
53.	that child			
54.	"this child"			
56.		the enchanted tree		
57.		the enchanted tree		
61.				"/I/"
64.			she	
65.	her child			
66.		where he had put the child		
67.		what is happening at the top of the enchanted tree		
69.	she			
70.		the doves		
71.		the nectar		
72.	/the child/			
73.	/the child/			
74.		ø (the tree)		
75.	the girl			

Figure 4. Chart of in-focus props and participants in the first half of Act III, (Sentences 48 - 79).

	Discourse Topic: Needy Participant	Section Topic	Benefactor	
			The Tree	The House
77.		/the child/		
78.			heart fruit likon fruit dulon fruit	
79.		she		
80.		Ø (she)	a small mountain	
81.			a small mountain	
83.		her gaze		
84.		Ø (she)	a tree	
85.				no house
87.			the tree	
88.		the girl	Ø (it)	
93.		the girl	things that were lying under the tree	
94.	the boy			
95.				
97.		/the girl/		
98.	his awakening			
101.		/the girl/		

Figure 5. Chart of focused props and participants in the second half of Act III (Sentences 80 - 103).

	Discourse Topic: Needy Participant	Section Topic: Benefactor	
	Tò Tit	The Tree	The House
105.	/Tò Tit/	The tree with all kinds of special fruit	The House
107.			

Figure 6. Chart of focused props and participants in Act IV
(Sentences 104 - 109).

	Discourse Topic: Needy Participant		Section Topic: Benefactor Complex	
	Tò Tit	Girl	The Tree /Tukol	The House and Associated Items
110.		the girl		
114.	"you"			
115.		"I"		
120.			"the tree that you planted" "Ø" (it)	
125.	/-----they-----/	(includes tukol)		
126				a big voice
128.	/-----"you"-----/			
130	/-----"you"-----/			
133.	/-----they-----/			
135.				a big house many beautiful women
137.	/-----they-----/			

Focus in Tboli Discourse 183

	Discourse Topic: Needy Participant		Section Topics: Benefactor Complex	
	To Tit	Girl	The Tree / Tukol	The House and Associated Items
141.				the sound of merriment
142.		the girl		
143.				Ø (the house)
144.				the the and the gongs, drums, bamboo harp
145.				/they/ (instruments)
146.				/no one/
148.			the tip of the tree	
149.				/an old man/
151.			the medicine	
	/-----you-----/			

Figure 7. Chart of focused props and participants in the Climax Resolution and Conclusion (Sentences 110 - 152).

The story of Tò Tit (given in full in Appendix A) has two main participant groupings, a needy participant complex (To Tit and the girl), and a benefactor complex (Tukol, the tree, the house). Associated with the girl are two conflicting sets of benefactors, her mother on the one hand and the enchanted tree on the other. The father is a rather enigmatic character who appears in focus but once and then only in a demoted agent form that subordinates him as a participant to the act that he performed (Sentence 61).

In Figures 2 and 3 the focus pattern is quite typical of a non-conflict passage. Tò Tit appears in focus once in Act I and once in Act II, and these appearances are probably a consequence of To Tit's role as discourse topic. The section topic for these two acts, however, is clearly Tukol and his successor, the tree, which remain steadily in focus throughout. This steady focus is the expected pattern for non-conflict passages.

In Figure 4 the girl is picked up as the main participant of Act III, but the demoted agent forms that appear in the Figure between slanted lines indicate that in this act the girl is given less prominence than the actions in which she is involved, and these actions highlight the various stages of her development as a child under the beneficent influence of the enchanted tree. Thus, while the girl is the main participant of Act III, the enchanted tree would be the obvious choice for topic of the first half of that act. In Sentences 48 - 66 there is a conflict between the girl's mother, the girl's father and the enchanted tree which shows up in the focus pattern.

The second half of Act III as presented in Figure 5 consists of three shorter sections: The account of the girl's journey (Sentences 77 - 82) in which the journey serves as section topic, the girl's discovery of the tree (Sentences 83 - 92) in which the tree is section topic, and the girl's discovery of the boy (Sentences 93 - 103) in which Tò Tit and his awakening is the section topic. The demoted agent form in 95 subordinates the girl and lends prominence to her act of looking for the boy's companion. In 97 she is subordinated to her act of coming and sitting by the boy. In 101 she is subordinated to her act of waking the boy.

In Act III, then, we have the girl as the main participant maintained periodically in focus throughout, but at a lower level we have four sections, each with its own topic in focus throughout the section. The net effect of this use of topic hierarchy appears to be that of establishing continuity of focus simultaneously at two levels of discourse structure and it may also have the effect of creating tension or suspense even in a nonconflict situation.

Act IV is charted in Figure 6 and has for its topic items of the benefactor complex. Even the main participant of the discourse, Tò Tit, is subordinated by agent demotion to his action of seeing and hearing the fantastic sights and sounds of the tree and the house which

represent the satisfaction of the initial lack conveyed in Sentence 1.

Figure 7 charts the celebration-like final section which serves to prolong the intense vicarious pleasure and satisfaction at the lavish provision of the benefactors for all of the needs of To Tit. The predominance of demoted agent reference to the main participants in the discourse, and the grouping of these participants within the scope of plural pronouns by contrast with the focused highlighting of the tree and the house again makes it quite clear that the benefactor complex constitutes the topic grouping for this section.

In the figures that follow we trace the focus patterns through the text, 'Hnu and the Big Spirit'. In the left hand column of each figure appears the free English translation with focused items underlined. On the right hand side of each figure are columns for each of the major participants in the story. Each column is interpreted as a participant-prop grouping. As a participant or prop is placed in focus in a given sentence, that item is entered in the appropriate column opposite the free translation of that sentence in the figure. This display is intended to make the shifting focus patterns that are associated so commonly with conflict stand out for easy inspection. The story falls naturally into four major sections: I. Setting (1-7), II. Complication (8-20), III. Narrative Episode Sequence (21-57), and IV. Conclusion (58).

I. Setting (1 - 7)

	Hero: Hnu	Victim: Mother	Villain: Big Spirit
1. This is the story of Hnu.			
2. Hnu is an orphan, only his mother is living.			
3. They live by themselves, just the two of them.			
4. What Hnu always did, he always made traps, so much that he completely provided for his mother.			
5. Hnu's traps were always springing.			
6. But that which was always irritating Hnu was Big Spirit.			
7. <u>He</u> was always bothering his mother when Hnu left <u>his mother</u> up in the house.		Mother	Big Spirit

Figure 8. Focus pattern in the setting section of 'Hnu and the Big Spirit.'

In the setting of Hnu and the Big Spirit we have the usual pattern. Participants are brought on stage in introductory constructions that avoid the use of verbal focus. Only at the end of this section do we have true focus constructions. It is interesting to note that the major conflict groupings involve Hnu and his mother as one group and the Big Spirit as the opposing group. The focus pattern that is found in the setting may be thought of as foreshadowing this conflict.

II. Complication (8 - 20)	Hnu	Mother	Big Spirit
8. As for Hnu, one day he hid his <u>mother</u> in the hole of the buk-buk.		Mother	
9. And <u>Hnu</u> left.	(Hnu)		
10. Hnu had no sooner turned his back when his mother heard the <u>loud talking</u> of the spirit coming up from below.			loud talking
11. It said, "Taste, taste, this is its odor."			
12. And wouldn't you know, this mother of Hnu was always full of laughter.			
13. As for Big Spirit, he kept on saying "Taste, taste, this is its smell," and Mother of Hnu just jumped out of the buk-buk hole.			
14. And then <u>Big Spirit</u> just caught Hnu's mother.			Big Spirit
15. How Hnu's mother screamed, so much so that Hnu had to help her again.			
16. "What has happened to you, Mother?" said Hnu.			
17. When Big Spirit heard Hnu's <u>shout of help</u> he just jumped away from the fire table.	shout		
18. By the time Hnu had arrived, Big Spirit was long gone.			
19. Now <u>Hnu</u> got weary of the whole thing. Each time he left his mother behind Big Spirit would bother her.	Hnu		
20. He was always tickling <u>Hnu's mother</u> .		Mother	

Figure 9. Focus pattern in the complication section of 'Hnu and the Big Spirit'.

III. Narrative Episode Sequence (21 - 57)	Hnu	Mother	Big Spirit
21. Now <u>Hnu</u> made a plan, <u>he</u> made a big fish trap.	Hnu		
22. When it was finished, Hnu put <u>it</u> on the shelf above the fire table.	Trap		
23. He ~~put~~ ripe bananas in <u>it</u> .	Trap		
24. And then <u>he</u> left again but first he hid <u>his mother</u> in the tip of the rafters	Hnu	Mother	
25. When Hnu's back was turned again, there again was <u>Big Spirit</u> talking spirit talk coming from below.			Big Spirit
26. He said, "Taste, taste, this is its odor."			
27. But when Big Spirit was still a long way off he had already seen the <u>ripe bananas</u> on the shelf.	Bananas		
28. "Oh boy! Ripe bananas!" said Big Spirit.			
29. He stopped <u>what he was saying</u> to look for Hnu's mother.			what he was saying
30. He tried to get <u>the bananas</u> .	Bananas		
31. "Whoops," said the Big Spirit, "They are in something."			
32. <u>Big Spirit</u> looked for a way. He said "How am I going to get those bananas?"			Big Spirit
33. He tried to reach <u>them</u> , but no, he couldn't reach <u>them</u> .	Bananas		
34. <u>Big Spirit</u> didn't even talk, maybe someone would hear.			Big Spirit
35. <u>Big Spirit</u> just went and entered into it to eat <u>bananas</u> to his full inside it.	Bananas		

Figure 10. Focus pattern in the first episode of the narrative sequence.

III. Narrative Episode Sequence (Con'd)	Hnu	Mother	Big Spirit
36. Wow! How full he got!			
37. When <u>Big Spirit</u> had finished eating bananas he tried to get out.			Big Spirit
38. Whoops, there was no way to get out!			
39. Big Spirit was inside until he just fell asleep.			
40. And it was only then that Hnu could do his work well, there was no one to bother him, he no longer had to run to the house to help his mother.			
41. It was now mid day and Hnu felt <u>hungry</u> .	Hunger		
42. There is <u>Hnu</u> returning to the house while Big Spirit is snoring noisily away in the fish trap on the shelf.	Hnu		
43. Now Hnu has arrived at the house.			
44. The first thing his eye lights on is what is there on the shelf.			
45. "There," said Hnu, "is the one that is always bothering me!"			
46. Hnu made a <u>big fire</u> and he fed <u>it</u> a lot of fuel.	Fire		
47. And Big Spirit felt <u>the intense heat and smoke</u> .	Heat Smoke		
48. Now he woke up screaming at the same time.			
49. <u>He</u> kept screaming to no avail, there was no one to help him.			Big Spirit
50. And there is Big Spirit, <u>he</u> continued screaming until he had no more strength.			Big Spirit
51. Big Spirit was completely smoked.			

Figure 11. Focus pattern in first part of the second episode of the narrative sequence.

III. Narrative Episode Sequence (Con'd)	Hnu	Mother	Big Spirit
52. His feet just stuck out from the shelf.			
53. "Serves you right!" said Hnu. "How you are always bothering me, bothering Mother, and stealing my bananas!"			
54. Now Hnu tipped the fishtrap off the shelf with Big Spirit in it.	Trap		
55. It just banged to the floor. Big Spirit was stiffened out straight.			
56. <u>Hnu</u> just cut up Big Spirit.	Hnu		
57. Then <u>he</u> just threw the pieces all over.	Hnu		
IV. Conclusion.			
58. This is the end of the story of Hnu.			

Figure 12. Focus pattern in the concluding portion of the 'Hnu and the Big Spirit.'

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FOOTNOTES

¹ This paper is a revised and expanded version of some earlier papers by Doris Porter entitled, 'Focus in Tboli Verbal Clauses,' and 'Focus Predictability in Tboli Verbal Clauses'. We wish to thank Kemp Pallesen, Richard Elkins, Phyllis Healey, Lou Hohulin, and David Thomas for helpful and stimulating suggestions. None of these, however, should be held accountable for deficiencies in this particular draft of the paper. The analysis is almost entirely Porter's work. Hale did a bit of stimulating and was the one to write the last draft. For this reason the deficiencies in presentation are due to Hale.

² If we distinguish between preposed clause topics (constituents of the clause that are removed from the clause and preposed to the predicate of the clause) and sentence topics (settings and other kinds of topics that are not in any sense removed from the clause they precede, and which could be deleted, while leaving behind a clause that is complete so far as its internal constituents are concerned) then we can say that in Tboli only focused items can be preposed clause topics. As a consequence, the distinction that McKaughan, 1973, draws between 'subject' and 'topic' is a nonorthogonal one for Tboli. In these terms there are subjects that are not topics, subjects that are topics, but there are no topics that are not subjects.

³The terms used to refer to these roles in this paper are the semantic role relations, agent, patient, beneficiary, and instrument. Informally the agent may be thought of as the initiator or performer of an action, the patient as the undergoer of an action, the beneficiary as the recipient of a patient, and the instrument as that which is used to perform an action. There are taken here simply as convenient labels. There will be no attempt in this paper to show that the grammatical labels, Subject, Object, Indirect Object, and Accessory would not do the job just as well. Nor is it the task of this paper to answer the question as to whether the focus relationship observed in Tboli clauses is one that holds primarily between the predicate and a grammatically defined slot or between the predicate and a semantically or situationally defined role. This is not to say that the question is not important or that no answers can be given.

⁴There are, however, some interesting parallels that can be drawn between statives and verbs that should at least be noted in passing. As will be mentioned below, there are three focus affixes for verbs, very roughly a zero, $\emptyset$, which cross references the prefocused item for any given verb class, an affix, m-, (or its variant -em-) which cross references the item that stands semantically at the end of the chain of action (i.e. the beneficiary for patient oriented verbs or the patient for instrument oriented verbs). Thus for verbs we have an m- to focus upon the initiator of an action, an n- to focus upon the role that stands at the extreme receiving end of the action, and a zero with which to focus upon that intermediate role that stands between the initiator and the endpoint of the action and which (for other reasons) is considered to be the prefocused role of the verb. The interesting parallel to be noted here is that even though any given stative has but one possible focused role, there are three classes of statives, the underived statives with zero exemplified by Sentence 1, statives derived from nouns with a prefix, m-, such as the following:

Tey	mloy	kuda-u.
intensive	run	horse-my
'My horse can really run.'		

and statives derived from nouns with a prefix, n-, such as the following:

Tey	nusing	kgal-en.
intensive	dirty	shirt-his
'His shirt is very dirty.'		

There even seems to be a loose semantic correlation between the m- derived statives (kuda 'horse' → kmuda 'to ride a horse', lowil 'life' → mowil 'to be alive', udin 'civil law' → mudin 'to have lots of laws') and an agent-like role, between the n- derived statives (lekef 'a cold' → lenekef 'to have a cold', hal 'a cut or sore' → hnali 'to have a cut or sore', using 'dirt' → nusing 'to be dirty') and a role that represents the end point of some action, and between the $\emptyset$ derived statives and a role that represents neither the initiator nor the end point (hulô 'red',

tahà 'long', tungô 'asleep', kinî 'hot', tilob 'pretty'), though it must be admitted that the correlation is relatively fragile and not to be leaned upon heavily.

⁵ There is, of course, a device for promoting agents to the highest rank and this device can override the rules of normal ranking described here. See Section 3, below.

⁶ Again we have reference here to normal ranking, and are ignoring for the moment the discourse related devices associated with agent promotion.

⁷ There is also another way of looking at this. It would not be hard to substantiate the claim that Tukol is a known participant when he is brought on stage. He is a magical bird who appears in many stories and is therefore known to the Tboli audience.

⁸ This hypothesis, which may need further testing for Tboli, does not seem to hold for certain other languages, such as Western Bukidnon Manobo, where a participant grouping can be established by an in-focus reference to a key participant in the very first word of a discourse. For such languages it may well be that the attributes 'specific, known, bounded whole' are simply asserted by the use of a focused form and that they can be negated by the use of indefinite, nonfocused forms. Focus choices for such languages may not be the consequence of an independently established information structure within a text, as seems to be quite a plausible possibility for Tboli, but that it is rather an attribution of specificity and closure which can be made independently of such a structure.

⁹ David Thomas has called our attention to one of the earliest comments that related clause focus to discourse. It is found in Healey, 1958, 79. Speaking of Yogad, Healey says, 'The second unit [focused item] tends to represent the continuing topic of discussion, where as the first unit [preposed topic] tends to be a semantic element newly introduced into the discussion, to be contrasted and emphasized.' [Comments in square brackets are ours.]

More recently Clay Johnston has shown for Cotabato Manobo that in nonconflict passages there is discourse pressure for the focus to remain on a given participant throughout a section (Johnston, 1976).

Appendix

Tò Tit, a Tboli Story
by Gadu Ugal
analysis by Doris Porter

Key to Abbreviations

AF	Agent Focus	P	Punctillear
AGT	Agent Form	PA	Polite Address
AS	Associative	PCA	Past Completed Action
ATTN	expression used to attract the attention of the audience	PD	Polite Dual Pronoun
CS	Causative	PF	Patient Focus
EM	Emphatic	PR	Polite Request
EXCL	Exclamation	PUR	Purposive
HAB	Habitual	QF	Quotative Focus
IF	Instrument Focus	QW	Question Word
INT	Intensifier	RS	Reported Speech, disclaimer of responsibility for the facts
IV	Involuntary	S	Stative, a derivative affix
NML	Nominalizer	T	Topic
NT	Non-topic	R	Reflexive nominal

1. Hek kun Tò Tit, Tek sotu-hen nù bè
ATTN RS To Tit only one-of him be at
yem gunù, yem tehe gunù ma-en ne
the house the long ago house father-his and
yé-en. 2. Deng le m-atay bè des
mother-his PCA ACT, they S, AF-die from sickness
ugu. 3. Tek sotu-hen buhê bélê le.
Ugu only one-of him survive of all them

4. Sotu kdaw kun m-yón lubang damay
one day RS S, AF-sit bird watch a tree

Tò Tit. 5. Ton-en tukol. 6. M-udél tukol
To Tit PF, see-he wren S, AF-speak wren

e-bè Tò Tit. 7. Mon tukol, "Ni, Tò Tit,
to-at To Tit QF, say wren now! To Tit

ge-n-ti-em o." 8. Tahu se kun, ge-n-tí
-PF-shoot-you me true! EM RS -PF-shoot

Tò Tit tukol.
To Tit wren

9. Bud m-udél tukol, mon-en "He-tlasik
again S, AF-speak wren PF, say-he CS-hurry

Tò Tit, n-it-em o m-ulék bè gunu-em.
To Tit PF-take-you me S, AF-return to house-your

10. Tahu se kun.
true! EM RS

11. Kól bè gunu-en Tò Tit, bud m-udél
arrive at house-his To Tit again S, AF-

tukol, mon-en, "He-tlasik Tò Tit, géhél
speak wren QF, say-he CS-hurry To Tit hurry

ken-em o." 12. "Okóm," mon tukol, "bé-em
PF, eat-you me but QF, say wren don't-

se-n-fà o. 13. Tódô hlo-hem o."
you -PF-chew me. P, just PF, swallow-you me

14. Tahu se kun. 15. Tódô hlo Tò Tit
true EM RS P, just PF, swallow To Tit

1. Now this is the story of Tò Tit, just he alone is left in his house, the house of his dead mother and father. 2. They died from small pox. 3. He was the only one left alive.

4. One day Tò Tit was sitting in his bird watch at the damay tree. 5. He saw Tukol (a bird similar to a wren). 6. Tukol spoke to Tò Tit. 7. Tukol said, "Here, Tò Tit, shoot me." 8. True, Tò Tit shot Tukol.

9. Tukol spoke again, he said, "Hurry, Tò Tit, take me back to your house." 10. True, he did.

11. Tò Tit arrived at his house. Tukol spoke again, he said, "Hurry, Tò Tit, hurry and eat me." 12. But, said Tukol, don't chew me, 13. just swallow me. 14. True. 15. Tò Tit just swallowed Tukol.

tukol.
wren

16. Timbōw deng kōl lem blutut Tò Tit
when PCA arrive in stomach To Tit

tukol. bud m-udēl tukol, mon-en "He-tlasik
wren again S,AF-speak wren QF,say-he CS-hurry

Tò Tit, gēhēl kē-em o. 17. Bē-em kē
To Tit hurry PF,expel-you me don't-you PF,

expel o. bē kōtōl. 18. Kē-em o tak
in toilet PF,expel-you me in

klōsōl." 19. Tahu se kun nimōn Ø Tò Tit.
yard true EM RS PF,obey (him) To Tit

20. Bede mon tukol, "N-angat h-n-ēnēg-em
but QF,say wren PF-wait CS-PF-scrutinize-

o." 21. Bē-i tungō efet lewu kdaw.
you me don't-you,T sleep until two days

22. Tahu se, tōdō n-ufos Tò Tit s-endaw ne
true EM just PF-spent To Tit one-day and

s-ulyo buteng hinong m-yōn te klōsōl.
one-night night stare S,AF-sit in yard

23. Timbōw ne e ton Tò Tit ngā towok hulu,
when PUR PF,see To Tit child growth plant

bede mom gading, là bud gungol-em
but rather golden brown not again PF,hear-you

du ne koni udēl tukol. 24. Omin Tò Tit
it,NT now recent word wren then To Tit

yō he moo ketuk-en. 25. Tōdō hugōn bē
there yet odor sleep-his just fall over at

yō Tò Tit te klōsōl lem but yem ngā koyu.
there To Tit in yard in base the child tree

26. Ngang-en mò du yem ngā koyu yō
continue-it do it,NT the child tree there

koni efet tahà e-ta. 27. Yō ne kun
just mentioned until tall toward-up there now as

16. When Tukol had arrived in the stomach of Tò Tit, he spoke again, he said, "Hurry, Tò Tit, hurry and pass me. 17. Don't pass me in the toilet, 18. Pass me in the yard." 19. True, Tò Tit obeyed him. 20. But Tukol said, "Wait and watch me." 21. "Don't sleep for two days." 22. True, Tò Tit kept awake all day and all night sitting there in the yard. 23. When Tò Tit saw the beginning of the growth of the plant, it was golden brown instead and you could hear the voice of Tukol. 24. It was then that Tò Tit felt sleepy. 25. He just fell over there in the yard at the foot of the little tree.

26. The tree kept growing until it was tall. 27. And there was To Tit fast asleep. 28. It continued growing

Tò Tit h-long tungô. 28. Ngang-en
for him To Tit CS-snore sleep continue-it

ne kun m-ulók ne yem koyu yó. 29. Là
now as for it S,AF-flower now the tree that not

bol bulók-en kun ke là mimet. 30. Ne
IF,mix flower-its RS if not beads and

ngang-en ne kun l-em-uyung yem koyu yó.
continue-it now RS -S,AF-hump up the tree there

31. Tódô h-n-inggel-en m-sut bè
just CS-PF-beautify-it,NT S,AF-come up at

seblà kulu Tò Tit yem luyung-en, 32. bede
just at head To Tit the surface roots-its but

yem luyung-en kun la-en bol-en
the surface roots-its RS not-there is mixture-its

són kmagi nabay. 33. Tódô käng h-n-inggel
only a necklace white gold just as if CS-PF-

he-tdanap-en kun Tò Tit ta
beautiful CS-PF,cushion-you RS To Tit on top of

yem luyung koyu.
the humped up root tree

34. Yó ne Tò Tit h-long henga
there now To Tit CS-deep sleep really

tungô deng wolu ne halay-en. 35. Ne-m e
sleep CPA eight now year-it now-you,AGT,NT

h-n-énég laan nim koyu ni koni.
CS-PF-look at (it) under the tree this just men-

36. La bol hanga-n fi dmata kdaw
tioned not IF,mix branch-it toward eye sun

ke là snafang. 37. Là bol down-en ke là
if not guns not IF,mix leaf-it if not

tedyung. 38. Là bol hanga-n fi leged
a material not IF,mix limbs-it toward up stream

ke là sendek. 39. Là bol down-en ke là
if not beads not IF,mix leaf-it if not

until the tree bore
flowers. 29. The
flowers were nothing
but beads. 30. The
tree kept on until
the base of the tree
humped out into
large roots. 31. The
roots just came up
nicely right at the
place where To Tit's
head lay, 32. but
those roots were
nothing less than
necklaces of white
gold. 33. It was as
if the roots of the
tree came up to make
a place for To Tit
to put his head.

34. And there is To
Tit, sleeping, it
has been eight years.
35. Look [at what
there is] under this
tree! 36. The bran-
ches to the east are
all guns. 37. Its
leaves are all ex-
pensive Moslem ma-
terial. 38. The
branches facing up-
stream (north) are
all beads. 39. The
leaves there are the
'sticky ocean'. 40.
The branches facing
downstream are of
kawat (a brass wire
used in making jewel-
ry) and its leaves

mohin miket. 40. Bong hanga-n fi
ocean sticky as for branches-it toward

debwak la-en bol-en ke là hlò kawat
down stream not-is mixture-its if not all brass

ne là bol down-en ke là filak.
wire and not IF,mix leaf-it if not money

41. H-n-énég-em hanga-n fi desdef
CS-PF-scrutinize-you branch-it toward where

la-en bol-en ke là hlò blówón,
the sun sets not-is mixture-its if not all gold

ne là bol down-en ke là fandi ndól.
and not IF,mix leaves-it if not an expensive skirt

42. Ne là bol tinu-hen ke là lobun.
material and not IF,mix stem-its if not clouds

43. Yó ne kun Tò Tit h-long tungô.
there now as for him To Tit CS-deep sleep

44. Kéng h-n-inggel su-em ø
as if CS-PF-beautiful PF,put-you,AGT,NT (him)

te tilam. 45. Là bol tdanan Tò Tit kun
on sleeping mat not IF,mix pillow To Tit RS

ke là tedyung. 46. Kéng h-n-inggel
if not skirt material as if CS-PF-beautiful

s-en-afin-em ø 47. Gel btang gu ta
-PF-fold-you,AGT,NT (it) HAB fall from above

doun yem koyu-hen.
leaves the tree-its

48. Hek kun ne e l-em-wót
ATTN RS PUR -AF-leave(=in regard to)

tuha logi lewu le tuha libun-en, tólong
old man two them,AGT old wman-his_sseparate

le kilil tniba le. 49. Sotu ngà le
they,AGT edge field their one child their

libun, uma kóm lomí sut.
girl wouldn't you know? new born.

are all money. 41. Look at the branches to the west [Lit. where the sun sets] they are all of gold and the leaves are all of expensive material. 42. And the stems are all of clouds. 43. And there is Tò Tit, sleeping, sleeping. 44. It is as if you have put him on a sleeping cushion. 45. The place for his head is all of Moslem cloth. 46. It is as if you had folded it carefully. 47. The leaves fall down from the trees.

48. Now here is another man and his wife who live on the edge of their field. 49. They have one child, a girl, who was recently born.

50. Sotu kdaw mon tuha libun mò ke tuha
one day QF,say old woman to NT old

logi-n "E tuha logi, ne-m n-unung
man-her Oh! old man now-you,AGT,NT PF-take

dou ni ngà. 51. Ne e l-em-wót
care of for me this child PUR -S,AF-leave

tuha libun.
old woman

52. Weyò, ne e léét k-kól tuha libun.
EXCL PUR delayed NML-arrive old woman

53. Ne e l-em-wót dé kun tuha logi
PUR -S,AF-leave EM as for him old man

ne-n e n-wit yó ngà. 54. Omin-en kól
PUR-AGT,NT PF-bring that child then-he arrive

laan yem temnobung. 55. Fudél-em ke
under the enchanted tree cause to speak-you NT

tuha logi, "E temnobung h-loni-hi
old man Oh enchanted tree CS-come near-you

do e-laan ne-w ne sdang
to me toward-down under PUR-AGT,NT now PF,hang up

lem tnulun-em ni ne-dun." 56. Tahu se kun
in tip-your this this-child true EM RS

he-g-laan temnobung. 57. Omin-em bud
CS-IV-down enchanted tree,R then-it again

he-geta temnobung.
CS-high enchanted tree,R

58. Deng ne e kól kun tuha libun.
PCA PUR arrive as for her old woman

59. Mon-en mò ke tuha logi-n, "E tuha logi,
QF,say-she to NT old man-her Oh old man

gun nù kut de ngà?" 60. Môn tuha logi se,
place stay PD QW child QF,say old man also

"Na, tehe nù bè huyu-en se koni."
EXCL before be in hammock-her EM just now

50. One day the wife
said to her husband,
"Oh husband, look
after the child for
me for a bit." 51.
Then the wife left.

52. Oh, oh, the wo-
man was late in re-
turning. 53. Now
the man went out
taking the child
with him. 54. Then
he arrived at the
enchanted tree
called temnobung.
55. The man speaks,
he says "Oh,
temnobung come close
to me down here and
I will hang my child
in the tip of your
tree." 56. True, the
tree bent down. 57.
Then the temnobung
went up again.

58. Then the woman
arrived. 59. She
said to her husband,
"Oh husband, where
is our child?" 60.
The husband said,
"Goodness, she was
in her hammock a
minute ago. 61. I
went out to defe-
cate." 62. "Oh, my,
said the wife,

61. Hlun-u ne e tō m-ebel "something has hap-
temporarily-I, AGT, NT PUR would fain AF-look pened to my child."

solu. 62. "Děy," mon tuha libun, "
for to face toward Oh my! QF, say old woman

"deng wen des-en gi nga-u.
PCA there is sickness-her EM child-my

63. Yō ne kun tuha libun na
there now as for her old woman each

k-bong-en klokub doloj klokub mata-hen
NML-big-its shell a fruit lid eye-her

lan-en alì m-kik. 64. Na s-endaw-en ne
path-she, AGT INT S, AF-cry now one-day-it and

s-uloy-en butent m-kik Ø. 65. N-kik-en
one-night-it night S, AF-cry (she) PF-cry-she

yem nga-en igo-en tek sōn yō ngà le.
the child-her since-it just only that child their

66. Okōm là kem dog tulōn-en du se ni
but not INT PF, tell-he, NT it, NT EM this

dum tuha logi-n yem gun hemsù ni ngà.
the old man-her the place put this child

67. Ne-m e h-n-ungol Ø kun lem
PUR-you, NT CS-PF-listen (it) PR in

tnulum tum temnobung. 68. Tōdō se-blang
tip the enchanted tree. P, just AS-talk

tong dulong obun.
extent lullaby dove

69. Ngang-en ne kun yem ngà
continue-she now as for her the child

s-bol m-yōn lem eben-en ne s-bol beklil
AS-mix S, AF-sit in blanket-her and AS-mix to

1-em-okob Ø 70. Yō
turn around -S, AF-turn over prone (she) those

kem obun gel le m-it bulók. 71. Gel
plural dove HAB they AF-bring flowers HAB

63. And there was the woman, her eyes were swollen to the size of doloj shells (a fruit the size of a small cabbage) because of all her crying. 64. She cried all day and all night. 65. She cried for her child, since it was their only child. 66. But the man did not tell her where he had put the child.

67. Now listen to what is happening at the tip of the enchanted tree. 68. The doves are all singing lullabys at the same time.

69. The child continued growing until she could sit in her hammock and she could turn over. 70. The doves kept on bringing flowers to her. 71. They had the child suck the nectar. 72. The child kept growing until she could

h-sef le Ø yem ngà. 72. Ngang-en
CS-suck,PF they (it) that child continue-she

ne kun yem ngà deng hulung m-dà.
now as for her the child PCA to know how S,AF-

73. K-mon nawa temnobung du, deng
stand NML-say spirit enchanted tree it PCA

hulung m-ógôw ne yem ngà 74. Omin-en
to know how S,AF-walk now the child then-it

bud h-eglaan Ø e-bè tonok. 75. Leien
again CS-down (it)R toward-loc ground aimless

m-ógôw yem ngà libun. 76. Tahu se.
S,AF-go the child girl true EM

77. Yó lelen n-mò yem ngà m-ógôw
that aimless PF,do the child S,AF-go

Ø gu lem dlag likón. 78. Là bol
(she) from in forest bush-like tree not IF,mix

ken-en ke là hosò ne likón ne dulon.
food-her if not heart and likon fruit and a wild

79. Lel-en gel m-sef yó kem
fruit besides-she HAB AF-suck up that plural

bulók bnes.
flower wild (Lit. of the forest)

80. Ngang-en holun m-ógôw Ø kun
continue-she aimless S,AF-go (she) as

efet h-n-otun-en yem sotu ngà
for her until CS-PF-climb over-she the one child

bulul. 81. Timbów h-n-otun-en yem
mountain when CS-PF-climb over-she the

ngà bulul tódô gungol-en nim tey hligal
child mountain P,just PF,hear-she the INT happiness

lel uni k-m-intang lel uni
besides sound -S,AF-gong playing besides sound

tembol tnonggong lel uni h-em-glung.
to beat drum besides sound CS-S,AF-heglung

stand up. 73. The
spirit of the en-
chanted tree thought,
now the child is
able to walk. 74.
Then it bent down
to the ground. 75.
The little girl
wandered out. 76.
True.

77. What the child
did, she wandered
in the forest of
likon (a small
bush-like tree). 78.
She ate nothing but
hosò and likon and
dulon (wild fruits
of the forest). 79.
Besides she sucked
the nectar from
wild flowers.

80. She kept on
walking slowly un-
til she climbed a
small mountain. 81.
When she got to the
top of the small
mountain she heard
happy sounds, the
sound of the gongs
and the sound of
drums beating and
the sound of the
heglung (a two-
string guitar-like
instrument). 82.
Then the little
girl kept on going
slowly.

82. Omin-en bud ganag h-olum kun
playing. then-she again slowly CS-come close as

ngà libun.
for her child girl

83. ne-n e n-kay klubéng mata-n
PUR-AGT,NT PF,lift up eyelash eye-her

tódô ton-en tey koyu se-g-kay bungu-hen.
just PF,see-she INT tree AS-IV-lift fruit-its

84. B-en-kól-en se tô h-m-énég
-PF-in vain-she EM would fain CS-AF-scrutinize

ø du kun ke wen gunù. 85. La-en
(she)it as for her if there was house there

du ton-en. 86. Tódô m-uni
is not-it any PF,see-she P,just S,AF-make noise

lem tnulun yem koyu yó kun yem tey hligal.
in tip the tree that RS the INT merriment

87. Tódô teneng yem ngà libun ne-n e
P,just stare the child girl PUR-AGT,NT

ton yem tey koyu se-g-kay bungu-hen. 88. Omin-
PF,see the INT tree AS-IV-lift fruit-its then-

en ganag h-loni kun yem ngà
she slowly CS-PF,come near as for her the child

libun ne-n e h-n-énég ø lem but
girl,R PUR-AGT,NT CS-PF-scrutinize (if) in base

yem koyu. 89. Tódô se-g-lafin kun tong
the tree P,just AS-IV-layered RS to the

tedyung ne tong fandì ndól.
extent Moslem material and extent skirt a material

90. Tódô se-g-faday tong snafang.
P,just AS-IV-criss crossed extent guns

91. Ne tódô se-g-dilan tong kfilan.
and P,just AS-IV-piled extent a type of bolo

92. Tong gel bungu yó sem koyu yó.
extent HAB fruit the EM tree there

83. She raised her gaze and she saw a tree with very special fruits. 84. She looked in vain to see if there was a house. 85. There was none that she could see. 86. The happy sounds were coming from the forks of the tree. 87. The girl just stood there amazed at the tree she saw with all kinds of special fruit. 88. Then she slowly went closer to investigate at the base of the tree. 89. There were layers and layers of tedyung (Moslem material) and fandì ndól (expensive skirt material). 90. Guns lay criss-crossed. 91. And there were piles of expensive knives. 92. That was the extent of the fruit of that tree.

93. Y6 n-n-ò ngà libun fen gel
that -PF-do child girl the one HAB
- lelen se-n-tifun-en y6 kem
to pass the time AS-PF-gather-she that plural
- m-asà laan yem koyu. 94. Ne e n-kay
S,AF-lie down under the tree PUR PF-lift
- ngà libun de kun ke-tngel-en, tódô
child girl EM as for her NML-look-her P,just
- ton-en ngà logi tungô hlékê lem but
PF,see-she child boy sleep sprawled out in base
- yem koyu. 95. B-en-kól-en t-em-ngel du
the tree -PF-in vain-she -AF-look at it
- ke wen dumu-hen yem ngà logi. 96. Tek
if there is companion-his the child boy just
- sotu-n.
one-he
97. Omin-en ganag hlóni se kun
then-she slowly came near EM as for her
- ngà libun, ne omin-en m-yón bè kulu ngà
child girl, R and then-she S,AF-sit at head child
- logi. 98. T6 n-angat-en k-ebtik-en.
boy would fain PF-wait-she NML-awake-his
99. T-n-ódón-em ke dmemen efet s-endaw-en.
-PF-wait-you if stir until one-day-its
100. T-n-ódón-em Tò Tit ke lengilos. 101. Omin
-PF-wait-you To Tit if turn over then
- ngà libun m-nok te kulu Tò Tit mon-en, "E
child girl S,AF-push on head To Tit say-she Oh
- wè, btik-i kun." 102. Tahu se, lengilos
friend, wake-you PR true EM turn over
- Tò Tit ne omin-en btik. 103. Deng sfolò wolu
To Tit and then-he woke up PCA ten eight
- halay-en.
year-he

93. What the girl did, she gathered together the things that were lying there under the tree.
94. She lifted her gaze and she saw a boy sleeping there at the foot of the tree.
95. In vain she looked to see if he had a companion.
96. It was just he alone.

97. Then the girl walked slowly nearer and then she sat down at the head of the boy.
98. She would wait for him to wake up.
99. But he didn't even wake up all day long.
100. To Tit didn't even move.
101. Then the girl put her hand on To Tit's head and she said, "Friend, wake up!"
102. True, To Tit turned over and then woke up.
103. He was 18 years old.

104. Ke-tngel Tò Tit tódò ton-en kimu
NML-look To Tit just PF, see-he wealth

se-g-lansud. 105. Ne t-em-ngel e-ta Tò
AS-IV-piled up and -AF-look toward-up To

Tit tódò ton-en yem koyu se-g-kay bungu-
Tit P, just PF, see-he the tree AS-IV-elevated fruit-

hen. 106. Ne h-mung gungol-en se yem tey
its and CS-accompany hear-he EM the INT

hlugal lel uni k-m-intang ne lel
merriment besides sound -S-gong playing and besides

uni h-em-glung ne lel uni sludoy.
sound -S-heglung playing and besides sound bamboo

107. Êkem wen se-m gunù ton Tò
harp good if there is EM-the house PF, see To

Tit. 108. Tódò m-uni lem tnulum yem koyu yó.
Tit. P, just S-sound in tip the tree that

109. Tong ge-sduk bè hanga lobun, yó ne
extent IV-pierce on branch cloud there now

kun yó du-m bungu-hen.
RS that it-the fruit-its

110. Ke-tngél Tò Tit e-be yem
NML-looking To Tit toward-on the

sebla tehe gunu-n k-m-ulu, tódò ton-en
position previous place-his -S-head P, just PF, see-

ngà libum m-yón bè yó. 111. "Na,"
he child girl S, AF-sit at that goodness!

mon Tò Tit, "k-kól-em kni du l-en-ibun?"
QF, say To Tit NML-arrive-your here QW -PA-girl

112. "Eginu ne," mon ngà libum. 113. "Són
earlier now QF, say child girl only

mou tô m-angat ke-btik-em. 114. Okóm là
do would fain AF-wait NML-wake-your but not

géhél-i btik. 115. Yó gunu-w tódò b-em-tik
hurry-you wake up that reason-I P, just -AF-wake

104. To Tit looked and saw all the articles of wealth piled up. 105. To Tit looked up and saw the tree with all kinds of special fruits. 106. And at the same time he heard the noise of merriment, the sound of the gongs and the sound of the two-stringed guitar and the sound of the bamboo harp. 107. And To Tit couldn't even see a house. 108. The sounds came from the top of the tree. 109. Not only did the branches have all these fruits, they even pierced the clouds.

110. To Tit looked at the place where his head had been, he just saw a girl sitting there. 111. "Goodness," said To Tit, "when did you arrive here, little sister?" 112. "A while ago," said the girl. 113. "I have been waiting for you to wake up. 114. But you didn't hurry and wake up. 115. That is why I woke you up." 116. "That is good," said To Tit, "what a long time I have slept already! 117. The

kóm." 116. "Hyu yó sen," mon Tò Tit, tey
you,NT good that EM QF,say To Tit INT

legen ne ni ke-gen-u tungô. 117. Là
long time now this NML-time-my sleep not

deng-en tahà he nim towok nim koyu hulu-hu yem
PCA-it long yet the growth the tree plant-I the

ke-wót-u tungô. 118. Hyu sen anì wen
NML-go-my sleep good EM so that there is

dumu-w," mon Tò Tit.
companion-my QF,say To Tit

119. Là deng-en legen ke-s-tulón le
not PCA-it long time NML-AS-tell their

he-gdek se tukol ta abal Tò Tit. 120. Mon-en
CS-land EM wren on shoulder To Tit QF,say-

mò ke Tò Tit, "Ton-em kô towok tehe koyu
he to NT To Tit PF,see-you QW growth before tree

hulu-hem?" 121. "Ton-u," mon Tò Tit. 122. "Bê
plant-you PF,see-I QF,say To Tit Don't

ye feng nù be ni," mon tukol.
you,plural INT stay at this QF,say wren

123. Mung ye do." 124. Tahu se kun
accompany you,plural me true EM RS

k-ulit lan tukol k-ulit se lan ni kem ngà
NML-go path wren NML-go EM path this plural child

lewu.
two

125. Ngang le mógów efet le g-sut
continue they S,AF-go until they IV-

bà yem tey lèhék ne wen linu nù
arrive at the INT cliff and there is large pond at

bak he-sut-en. 126. Tódô gungol le nim
opening CS-arrive-it P,just PF,hear they this

tey m-udél. 127. Kéng k-em-fô
INT one who-speaks as if -AF-capture

growth of this tree
that I planted was
not yet tall when I
went to sleep. 118.
It is good now I
have a companion,"
said To Tit.

119. They hadn't
talked for very long
when Tukol landed on
To Tit's shoulder.
120. He said to To
Tit, "Do you see the
tree you planted?"
121. "I see it,"
said To Tit. 122.
"Don't just stand
there," said Tukol.
123. "Come with me!"
124. True, where
Tukol went, that is
where the two young
people went.

125. They kept on
going until they ar-
rived at a big cliff
and there was a pool
at the base of it.
126. They heard a
big voice. 127. It
was like the sound
of thunder 128. The
voice said, "You
will only live if
you know the reason

leték. 128. Mon tum m-udél
thunder-spirit QF,say that one who-speaks

"Song gunu ye là m-atay ke tngón ye
only place you,plural not S,AF-die if know you,

gunu ye là m-atay." 129. Mon
plural place you plural not S,AF-die QF,say

Tò Tit mò ke tukol, "Bang atul me du?"
To Tit to NT wren source plan we,exclusive QW

130. "Là," mon tukol, "bê ye liko
not QF,say wren don't you,plural S,be

131. Tódô he h-eneb e-lem yem
afraid P,just you,plural CS-dip toward-in the

tey linu yóó." 132. Tahu se kun, ne-le
INT large pool right there true EM RS PUR-

e h-eneb. 133. Omin le bud h-ewà
they,R CS-dip then they,R again CS-come out

e-ta tódô ton le tey gunu bong
toward-up P,just PF,see they INT house big

hono blówón ne aut-en hono blówón.
completely gold and steps-its all gold

134. Omin le h-otun kul kun. 135. Ton
then they CS-come up them RS PF,see

le yó kem tey dē tilob libun yem tukù
they that plural INT many pretty women the bun

le na ke-bang-en kuleng m-yón te kulu le.
their each NML-big-it kettle S,AF-sit on head their

136. Lel tey k-huték le ne mosò ti
besides INT NML-fair their and shapely calves

le. 137. Omin le m-otun ni kem lewu ngà.
their they they S,AF-go this plural two child

138. Ne-m e h-n-énég lówó le, deng tódô
PUR-you CS-PF-scrutinize body their PCA P,just

hlò blówón. 139. La-en kô bol-en
all gold there is not-it INT mixture-its

why you won't die."

129. To Tit said to
Tukol, "What shall
we do?" 130. "Never
mind," said Tukol,
"don't be afraid.

131. Just dip your-
selves in the big
pool." 132. True,
they dipped them-

selves. 133. Then
they came out and
they saw a big house
made of gold and the
steps were of gold.

134. Then someone
called them to come
up. 135. They saw

many beautiful wo-
men, their tuku

(Tboli-style hair
buns) were as big
as kettles sitting
on their heads.

136. And they were
fair-skinned and
their calves were
well rounded. 137.
Then the two young
people went up.

138. Look at their
bodies, they are
of gold! 139. They
are of pure gold
with nothing else
mixed in.

tódô le hl tahu blôwôn.
P, just they all true gold

140. Ya tey k-bong-en kun yem gunù yô
INT INT NML-big-it RS the house that

koni. 141. Tódô bud gungol le
just mentioned P, just again PF, hear they

se yem tey uni hligal yô koni.
EM the INT sound merriment there just mentioned

142. M-udél yem ngà libun mon-en, "Gum
S, AF-speak the child girl QF, say-she place

seblà kut de nim tey hligal?" 143. "Angat
position PR QW the INT merriment future

ton ye Q kedeng," mon yô
tense PF, see you, plural it later QF, say that

kem libun h-otun kul le Tò Tit. 144.
plural girl CS-come up them they To Tit.

Tahu se, bud ilud le dmata kdaw k-ôgôw
true EM again IF, move over they toward eye NML-go

le tem yem tey gunù tódô ton le ni
their in the INT house P, just PF, see they this

kem klintang ne ni kem tngongong ne ni
plural gongs and this plural drum and this

kem sludoy. 145. Tódô le gotu m-utóm.
plural bamboo harp P, just they all S-sound

146. La-en se kô dù tau m-ogot
there is not-it EM INT any people AF-hold

kul. 147. Hningun te gun tódô lemna
them to illustrate you & I place P, just space

ni kem kimu m-uni ni, hningun
occupied this plural property S-sound this to

te balu-en ke sotu sol tiba.
illustrate you & I even-it if one whole field

148. Ke-tngel Tò Tit e-tembô beng
NML-look To Tit toward-opening wall

140. What a big house
this house here is!

141. They then just
heard the sounds of
merriment again. 142.

The girl spoke, she
said, "Where are the
sounds of merriment
coming from?" 143.

"You will see it in
a minute," said the
woman who had called
To Tit and his com-
panion up into the
house. 144. True,
they moved toward
the east inside the
house and they

saw the gongs and
the drums and the
bamboo harp. 145.
They were all making
music. 146. No one
was holding them.
147. If we were to
show how much room
these instruments
took up, it was as
if they would fill
a whole field.

148. To Tit looked
out of the window
and saw the tip of

tódó ton-en tuko yem toyu-hen tmowok gu
P, just PF, see-he tip the tree-its S, grow from

t-laan. 149. Ne omin-en m-udél e-bélê le
far-below and then-he S, AF-speak to-at them

yem tuha logi, mon-en, "Ni se gunù ye bè
the old man QF, say-he this EM house your at

ni." 150. "G-efet dini towok yem hulu ye.
this IV-reach here growth the plant your

151. Deng tngón ye se bulung-en ani
PCA PF, know you, plural EM medicine-it so

là m-atay ye ne duhen yu
that not S-die you, plural and therefore EM, you,

hol tahu kminu bè k-lamang-en
plural INT true having property in NML-wide-its

benwu." 152. Duhen yó abay dé ni kimu
world therefore because much the wealth

tehe bungu koyu Tò Tit.
previous fruit tree To Tit

the tree he had
planted growing up
from below. 149.

Then a man spoke to
them, saying, "This
is your house."

150. "The tree you
planted has reached
to here. 151. You
know the medicine
so that you won't
die and now you are
the most wealthy
people of the whole
world." 152. And so,

that is the reason
for all the articles
of wealth in the
world, because of
the fruit of To
Tit's tree.

PHYSICAL, TEMPORAL AND COGNITIVE LOCATION

IN KELEY-I DEMONSTRATIVES

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The problem which prompted this brief study of Keley-i demonstratives was a very practical one. What we did not always know and wanted to find out was what was at stake in the choice of one demonstrative form over another in extended prose discourse. There were contexts in which the factors that controlled the choice of demonstratives made by fluent native speakers were not at all obvious. As the revision of the Antipolo Ifugao New Testament progressed, a number of changes in demonstrative forms were called for and the reasons for these changes could not be deduced from any available analysis of these forms.² In such a situation one likes to be able to agree intelligently with and show whole-hearted appreciation of all that is involved in such changes, rather than simply be a mystified on-looker accepting on blind faith the judgments of one's cotranslator or language assistants.

Not all calls for such changes however, were equally mysterious. Consider, for example, one such instance from John 6:34. Before revision the relevant portion read as follows.

Kandan hi-gatuy "Apu, idwasi dakemin nuntan ni kennen
said-they he, Lk Lord, give you-us that NFM food

min kenayun."
we always

'They said to him, "Lord, give us that, our food, always."

In the process of revision it turned out that in this context it would be better to use the demonstrative form, nurman 'that', rather than nuntan 'that'. After revision the relevant portion read as follows.

Kandan hi-gatuy "Apu, idwasi dakemin nurman e kennen
said-they he, Lk Lord give you-us that which is food

ni kakkannen min kenayun.
NFM to eat we always

'They said to him, "Lord, give us that, which is food for us, to eat always."

(Lk stands for link; NFM, for nonfocus marker.)

On the basis of previous analysis we knew that in some contexts the form, nuntan, is used to refer to an item which is near the hearer, that nunman is used for items far from both speaker and hearer, or out of sight, and that there is also a third form, nunya, that can be used to refer to items near the speaker. Furthermore, these three forms we knew to be nonfocused forms, each of which has a focused counterpart, as follows. We will refer to this paradigm and to its associated locative forms as the huyya-set of demonstratives.

	Focused	Nonfocused
Near Speaker	<u>huyya</u>	<u>nunya</u>
Near Hearer	<u>huttan</u>	<u>nuntan</u>
Far / Out of Sight	<u>humman</u>	<u>nunman</u>

On the basis of this much analysis it was easy enough to say what was at stake in the suggested revision. The form, nuntan, in the pre-revision draft implied that the food referred to was not only visible, but was near the hearer. The form, nunman, on the other hand allows its referent to be out of sight. In this context it was not difficult to see that the proposed revision was clearly an improvement on the basis of previous analysis.

There were other problems, however, that went beyond the ability of that analysis to provide an explanation. Consider, for example, a revision proposed for Matthew 26:72. Before revision the relevant portion read as follows.

Nem inhaut nan Pedro mewan et kamansapatah e kantuy
but denied NFM Peter again and swore an oath that is said-he

"Makulug et aggak amta etan tuu."

it's true and not-I know that person

'But Peter denied it again and swore an oath saying, "Truly I don't know that person."'

In the proposed revision etan tuu 'that person' is replaced by humman ni tuu 'that person'. On the basis of earlier analysis it was possible to say that etan formed part of the following paradigm, each member of which could serve either as a focused or as a nonfocused item. We will refer to this as the eya - set of demonstratives

Near Speaker	<u>eya</u>
Near Hearer	<u>etan</u>
Far from Both	<u>eman</u>
Out of Sight	<u>etan</u>

The form, etan 'that', could be used to refer to an item that was near the hearer or to an item that was out of sight. It could be either focused or nonfocused. What previous analysis did not make clear was what was at stake in the choice between etan and human. Probing at this point revealed that human entails a specific antecedent while etan does not. As the passage read before revision, etan tuu could have been a way to bring a new participant on stage, and could have referred to any person that was being introduced into the discourse so long as he was either near the hearer or out of sight. The net result of the proposed revision was to limit the reference of human ni tuu to some specific, previously mentioned antecedent, which in this context is Jesus. At this point it became apparent that the eya set could be used to introduce new participants into the discourse whereas the huyya set could not. Rather, the huyya set required some specifically identifiable antecedent within the discourse. Thus, one could start a story as in the following example taken from Mark 12:1.

Wada etan tuun sinamman tu mahkang ni puyek ...

There was that person, NFM planted he wide NFM land

'There was a certain person who planted a large field ...'

One could not, however, replace etan in this example with human since the function of the sentence is to introduce the participant to which the demonstrative refers. With this new insight it became apparent that the proposed revision was a decided improvement over the unrevised rendition of Matthew 26:72.

A great many of the revisions that involved demonstratives were instances in which demonstratives were inserted in contexts which had lacked them in the pre-revision draft. The effect of this was to improve coherence and to reduce ambiguity or vagueness either by definite reference to antecedents in context by use of the huyya set or by specific reference with demonstratives of the eya set. There were, however, several insertions of this sort that the earlier analysis simply did not cover. Consider, for example, an insertion that occurred in Luke 7:43.

... kan Jesus ni hi-gatuy, "Neiptek humang mu."

said Jesus NFM him, Ik correct answer your

'... Jesus said to him, "Your answer is correct."'

After revision the portion read as follows:

... kan Jesus ni hi-gatuy, "Neiptek huttan ni inhumang mu."

said Jesus NFM him, Ik correct that NFM OF, answer you

'... Jesus said to him, "That which you have answered is correct."'

Here huttan 'that' has been inserted and various minor adjustments have been made in clause structure. The question that our previous analysis could not answer was what it was that dictated the choice of huttan in

this environment. The antecedent of huttan is clearly a quotation. In what sense could a quotation be said to have a location at all, much less be in any literal sense of the term, 'in sight'?

Further probing at this point also brought new insights and a new appreciation for the value of the suggested revision. When the antecedent of a demonstrative from the huyya set is a quotation, the choice of demonstrative form is related to the source of information. The paradigm can be given a new set of glosses in this situation as follows.

	Focused	Nonfocused
1st Person Source	<u>huyya</u>	nunya
2nd Person Source	<u>huttan</u>	nuntan
3rd Person Source	humman	nurman

Clearly in Luke 7:43 Jesus is addressing the source of the quotation to which he refers with the demonstrative, huttan. In dialogue the use of demonstratives to refer to source of information can be illustrated in terms of examples such as the following. Consider first a dialogue between Pablo and Alberto.

Pablo:	<u>Netey hi Appin.</u>	'Appin is dead'
	dead FM Appin	
Alberto:	<u>Inamtak</u> <u>huttan.</u>	'I know <u>that</u> . (what you said)'
	OF,Pst,know-I that	
Pablo:	<u>Kele inamtam</u> <u>huyya?</u>	'How do you know <u>this</u> ?
	how OF,Pst,know-you this	(what I said)'

(OF stands for object focus; Pst, for past.)

Here Alberto's use of huttan acknowledges the one to whom he is speaking as the source of the quotation which is the antecedent of the demonstrative. Pablo's use of huyya is one in which the speaker takes credit as the source of the quotation which is the antecedent of the demonstrative. In a sense this can be thought of as the cognitive location for a quotation. A quotation that has a first person source is quite analogous to a concrete item that is located near the speaker. Similarly a quotation that is credited to the hearer is analogous to a concrete item that is located near the hearer. The primary difference is that it makes sense to attribute physical location to concrete items, but not to quotations, whereas it makes sense to attribute quotations to a source or to a cognitive location, but not to a physical location.

Consider a variant of the conversation cited above in which there are three participants, Pablo, Alberto, and Tomas.

- Pablo to Alberto Netey hi Appin. 'Appin is dead.'
and Tomas: dead FM Appin
- Alberto to Tomas: Inamtak humman. 'I know that. (Which he
OF,Pst,know-I that just said)'
- Tomas to Alberto: Pitan tu nengamtaan mun nurman?
When it OF,Pst,learn you,NFM the
'When did you learn that? (What he just said)'

Alberto's use of humman credits Pablo as the source of the quotation, and since he is talking to Tomas and not to Pablo, the third person source form is called for. Tomas' use of nurman likewise credits Pablo as a third person source, but since the demonstrative is not the focused noun phrase of its clause, the nonfocused form occurs.

Another change called for in the process of revision that reflects the importance of the cognitive location of a quotation is found in Matthew 26:70. Before revision the relevant passage read as follows.

- Nem inhaut nan Pedro et kantuy "Tawwey ngu,
but OF,Pst, deny NFM Peter and said-he How would I know that,
eggak amta eya muka pan-e-hela."
not-I know this you,Pres talking about
'But Peter denied it and said, "I know nothing about that, I
do not know what you are saying."

The recommended change was to substitute huttan ni for eya. This has the advantage of attributing the denied allegation to the hearer as second person source: "I know nothing about that (which you accused me of)..."

As we got further along in our study of demonstratives an effort was made to check all occurrences of demonstratives in extended passages both in unelicited text and in translated books of the New Testament. There were, of course demonstrative uses that were nonproblematic, and had required no adjustment in the revision. Thus there is a paradigm of temporal demonstratives which function simply as time adverbs.

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------|------------------------------|
| Present | <u>nunya</u> | 'now, today' |
| Recent past or near future | <u>nuntan</u> | 'then, soon' |
| Distant past or distant future | <u>nurman</u> | 'a long time ago / from now' |
| Narrative or reference time | <u>eman</u> | 'at that time' |

There is also a paradigm of predicate demonstratives which predicate location of their subjects.

Near speaker	<u>iyyadya</u>	<u>adyadeh</u>	'it's here'
Near hearer	<u>itten</u>	<u>attandeh</u>	'it's there'
Far from both	<u>immen</u>	<u>ammandeh</u>	'it's over yonder'
General or out of sight	<u>immen</u>	<u>ammundeh</u>	'it's there'

Furthermore, the full paradigm for the huyya set includes two locative forms, one for an antecedent proper name, and one for an antecedent common noun phrase.

	Focused	Nonfocused	Name Location	Noun Location
Near Speaker	<u>huyya</u>	<u>nunya</u>	hi diyyay	diyyay
Near Hearer	<u>huttan</u>	<u>nuntan</u>	hi ditten	ditten
Far from Both	<u>humman</u>	<u>nurman</u>	hi dimmen	dimmen
Out of Sight	<u>humman</u>	<u>nurman</u>	hi dimmun	dimmun

The noun location form of the huyya set also functions as a kind of locative pronoun specifying the location of the subject of the sentence.

This systematic check on demonstratives in extended text not only served to round out the paradigms to include the nonproblematical items, it also brought our attention rather forcibly to two very interesting kinds of phenomena, highlighting, and discourse final neutralization.

Highlighting in demonstratives came to our attention only after the regular rules which govern the vast majority of forms had become reasonably clear. It came to our attention first as a small residue of forms which would occur at climactic points in a plot in order to lend prominence to the antecedent of the demonstrative. These forms could be replaced grammatically with the forms that our rules required, but only at considerable loss in the effectiveness and vividness of the passage. Forms which should have been distant or out of sight forms and which were understood semantically as distant forms would show up as near to speaker forms. A prime example of this was found in Hebrews 3:16, which reads as follows.

<u>Hipadda</u>	<u>etan</u>	<u>nangngel</u>	<u>nem</u>	<u>kinehing</u>	<u>da ?</u>	<u>Inamata</u>
Who-they	that	SF,Pst,hear	but	OF,Pst,disobey	they	OF,Pst,know
<u>tayu e</u>	<u>huyyadda</u>	<u>tuud</u>	<u>Israel ni</u>	<u>hinelakniban</u>	<u>Meknengan</u>	
we	that	these-they	people,LM	Israel NFM	OF,Pst,saved	God
<u>di</u>	<u>nanhimbutan</u>	<u>dad</u>	<u>Egypt ni</u>	<u>nengipenguluan</u>	<u>Moses</u>	
LM	slavery	their,LM	Egypt NFM	Pst,lead out	Moses	

ni hi-gadad edum ni bebley.
 NFM they,LM other NFM country

'Who were those that heard but disobeyed? We know that it is those people of Israel whom God saved from their slavery in Egypt when Moses lead them to another country.'

(SF stands for subject focus)

The form etan (second word of the first line in the example on previous page) is the expected form of the demonstrative in this context since the modified head of the noun phrase, nangngel nem kinehing da 'those who heard but disobeyed' refers to out of sight participants. The form huyya (in the third word of the second line in the example on previous page) is unexpected by normal rules. In isolation it could be grammatically replaced with the form human since the antecedent is out of sight. At this point in the discourse, however, the antecedent is highlighted, and the mechanism used to express this highlighting is the substitution of near speaker forms for the otherwise expected distant or out of sight forms. The fact that context renders the antecedent perfectly clear makes this highlighting possible without the introduction of unwanted ambiguity.

Another example of demonstrative highlighting of an antecedent is found in Matthew 26:64.

Makulug huttan ni inhel mu nem en-entanni et ang-angen
 True that NFM OF,Pst,told you but later on and OF,NPst, see
yuwak e pengulluan ni emin ni tuun umyudung
 you-me that is older sibling NFM all NFM people,NFM SF,NPst,sit

ngak di kayuddungin keta-ta-geyan ni ap-apu di winannan
 I LM place of sitting highest NFM Lord LM right side of

Meknengan et hi-gak hu meihhayned ni hi-gatud saad mi tep
 God and I FM second rank NFM I rank our because

human hu saad ku. Ang-angen yulli huyyan pambangngadan
 that FM rank my OF,NPst,see you,Fut this when return

kud puyek ey wadalli kulput di nanlinikweh di kad-an ku.
 I,LM earth and there will be clouds LM around LM near me

'What you have said is true because later on you will see me, the elder sibling of all people sitting in the place where the highest ruler sits at the right hand of God and I will be second in our

rank (relative to one another) because that is our rank. You will see this when I return to earth and there will be clouds around me.'

(NPst stands for nonpast; LM, for location marker; Fut, for future.)

The antecedent of humman (first word of the fifth line in the example on previous page) is the fact of being second rank. The fact is itself distant future, and thus humman is the expected form. Huyyan, however, just a few words later also has a fact as antecedent, and this fact is also distant future. Humman would have been the expected form, and the demonstrative in any event is understood as having a distant future antecedent. This, then, is another instance of highlighting by substitution of the near to speaker form for the distant form, where the distant form is actually understood and could, so far as the grammar of the sentence in isolation is concerned, have been substituted for the near to speaker form. Had this sentence occurred in isolation or in some other discourse context, the distant form might have been equally effective.

To this point we had found only the near to speaker form used as a highlighted form. We began to wonder whether other forms could be used as highlighted substitutes. If a near to speaker form could be the highlighted version of the distant forms, could the near to hearer form be the highlighted version of the near to speaker form? As it turns out the near to speaker form is the only highlighted form. The apparent explanation for this is that the vividness of near to speaker forms is the basis for their use as highlighted forms. In other languages, vividness in folk tales is often created by the use of the near forms, whether of tense or of location. In English the historical present is also used in vivid narration.

In the material at our disposal, highlighting is used sparingly. It is particularly effective at the climax of an account where the speaker wishes to set the focal point of the story vividly before the eyes of his audience. The effect is analogous to that of a zoom lens. The general becomes specific, blurred edges become sharp, and the hearers' attentions are riveted to the highlighted aspects of the account. A good illustration of this is found at the climax and conclusion of an Ifugao account of the flood.

Kayyaggud humman ni impahding Meknengan ni hi-gatsun tuu.
Good that NFM OF,did God NFM us people

Tep aye ya huyyan tu impenahding, tu binahbah
because since TM this he OF,did he OF, destroyed

emin ammed tayun nunman ingganah wada itsun nunya,
all ancestors our long ago until there is we now

kayyaggud tu impenahding ni nunman.
good he OF,did NFM long ago

'That which God did for us people is good. For this is that he did; even though he destroyed all our ancestors long ago, still we are alive today, so what God did long ago is good.'

(TM stands for topic marker)

The second word in this example, human 'that' refers to a foregoing account of the flood and of how two people, the original progenitors of the Antipolo Ifugao, were rescued from it. This passage comes as a conclusion to the whole account and vividly highlights the significance of that account. The vividness of the form huyyan 'this' stems from its association in normal contexts with the here and now, and since this is the source of vividness in all highlighted demonstrative forms, in Keley-i, it explains why there is only one location form, the near to speaker form, that is used for highlighting.

Neutralization in demonstratives also came to our attention late in our testing of hypothesis. It occurs exclusively at the end of a discourse and is the one discourse position in which there is fairly free fluctuation among the forms, near to speaker, near to hearer, far from both, out of sight. The closing sentence of a monologue discourse might be any one of the following.

Ebuh huyyan e-helen ku. 'That's all I've got to say.'

Only that OF, NPst, say I

Ebuh huttan ni e-helen ku.

Only that NFM OF, NPst, say I

Ebuh human ni e-helen ku.

Only that NFM OF, NPst, say I

All three of these sentences mean the same thing. All are equally natural in discourse final position. The first, however, is slightly more frequent than the other two forms.

It now remains to summarize and exemplify in slightly greater detail the system of Keley-i demonstrative forms and their meanings, as we now understand it. Figure 1 summarizes the meanings or semantic choices that the system offers and Figure 2 relates these meanings to the various paradigms of demonstrative forms. The meanings given in Figure 1 are numbered from 1 to 12. Meanings 1 through 12 are represented by numbers at the heads of the columns in which the paradigms are arranged. Since meaning 13 is a neutralization in which various distinctions are lost, this meaning is not represented in either figure. The forms with the meanings 1, 5, and 9 are also used as highlight forms, and when so used are understood as distant or general forms in so far as the actual status of their antecedents is concerned. The choice of near forms in this instance simply heightens the effect of vividness. Certain demonstrative

forms cannot be used to express the full range of numbered meanings referred to at the head of their columns. Thus, Locative Name forms, and Locative Noun forms, cannot be used to express cognitive location. Forms in the paradigm labeled Location of Subject are used only for physical location and not for temporal or cognitive location. The paradigm headed Time of Clause, of course, is used exclusively for temporal location.

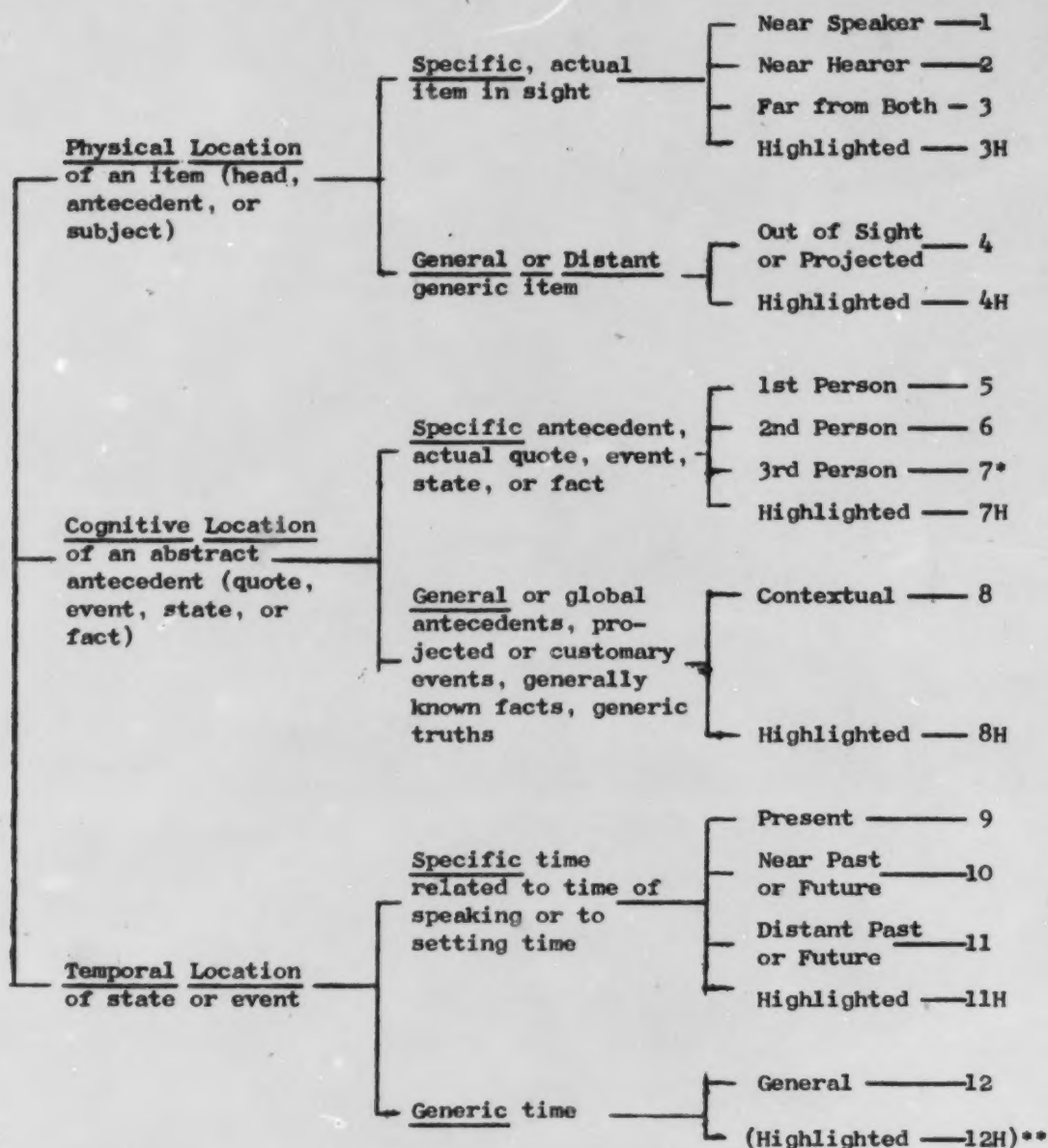


Figure 1. The meanings of the Keley-i demonstratives. The numbers

in the column at the left of the figure are the designations for the meanings given here that are used in Figure 2, where these meanings are related to the forms of the Keley-i demonstrative. *Includes reference to objective events, quotes, or facts that are not attributed either to the speaker or the hearer. ** This category is not yet exemplified in our elicited text materials.

1. Near Speaker	2. Near ~~Hearer~~	3. Far from Both	4. Out of Sight
5. 1st Person	6. 2nd Person	7. 3rd Person	8. Contextual
9. Present	10. Near Past or Future	11. Distant Past or Future	12. General
H. Highlighted			

<u>Location of Head</u>				
Determiner	eya	etan	eman	etan

<u>Location of Antecedent</u>				
Focused	huyya	huttan	human	human
Subj/Gen	nunya	hunnan	nunnan	nunnan
Loc Name	hi diyyay	hi ditten	hi dimmen	hi dimmun
Loc Noun	diyyay	ditten	dimmen	dimmun

<u>Location of Subject (Physical Location only)</u>				
Predicate 1	iyyadya	itten	immen	immen
Predicate 2	adyadeh	attandeh	ammandeh	ammundeh
Loc Adverb	diyyay	ditten	dimmen	dimmun

<u>Location of Compared Antecedent</u>				
Full form	henin nunya	henin nuntan	henin nunman	henin nunman
Contracted	hanneya	hannitan	hanniman	hanniman

<u>Time of Clause Head (Temporal Location only)</u>				
Determiner	eya	etan	eman	eman
Foc + Antec.	huyya	huttan	human	human
Non Foc	nunya	nuntan	nunnan	eman

Figure 2. The forms of the Keley-i demonstratives.

The remainder of this paper consists of examples of the various uses and meanings of Keley-i demonstratives summarized in Figure 1 and 2. The section numbers correspond to the meaning numbers given in those figures.

1. Physical location of a specific item near the speaker.

Etta-teng ida eya ubi
large they these camote

'These camotes are large.'

Hedin anhan pinhed mu, ekal mu eya degeh ku.
if please OF,like you remove you this sickness my

'If you like, please remove this my sickness.' Mark 1:40

Hipa hi diyyay?
who FM this

'Who is this?'

Iyyadya ballpen mun hi-gak.
it's here ballpoint pen you, NFM me

'I have your pen here (on my person).'

Huyya etan killum ni bimmukyat.
this that pig NFM went out

'This is that pig that went out.'

2. Physical location of a specific item near the hearer.

Ang-ang mu tep ta-pewan mu etan itlug ey megmik.
look you because place on you that egg and will break

'Watch out because you might put something on top of that egg (near you) and break it.'

Na-kal law huttan ni degeh mu.
removed now that NFM sickness you

'That sickness of yours is now removed.' Mark 5:34

Teay inna-nu kaw hu pehding tayun nuntan...
since how to do question FM to do we, inclusive that

'Since we don't know what to do with that (money which you have)... (M0224)

Hipa hi ditten?

who that

'Who is that?'

Ditten ditten libluh.

(leave it) there there book

'Leave the book there (near where you are).'

Itten di pitakah hu pihhuh.

there FM purse FM money

'The money is there in the purse (near where you are).'

3. Specific location of a specific item far from both hearer and speaker.

Di deya kayudya et nak ali tabalen eman nelutun balat.

here you-here and I future cut that ripe banana

'You stay here and I'll go and cut down that ripe banana plant.'

Hipa dimmen?

what that

'What is that?'

Immen di dimmen hu pingway.

there that FM bolo

'That bolo is way over there.'

Ammandeh di pikdel.

It's there LM corner

'It's way over there in the corner.'

3H. Specific items not near speaker but highlighted.

Yan eman ni amed tayun nurman

time TM time NFM parents our, inclusive then (long ago)

bekken ni Amduntug ngadan ni nunyan bebley.

not NFM Amduntug name this,NFM barrio

'During the time of our ancestors, long ago, Amduntug was not the name of that Barrio.' (This sentence could also be an example of 1. Near to Speaker in the appropriate context.)

4. Physical location, general reference to item distant or out of sight.

Intakin la mewan nan inad habal etan
took with directional again NFM mother, LM camote patch that

ewa tep ay endi.
bolo because it's that way none

'Mother took that knife along with her to the camote patch, since it is not here.'

Et wada inna-nu tun kewehitan idan idan ni beding,
and there is how to do it, NFM to spread they, NFM eaters NFM rice birds
ya utut, yadda bigih ni payaw. Kele inna-nu ngu
TM rats TM, they worm NFM rice field why how interjection

pengkal tayu ngun nurman.
remove we, inclusive interjection those

'And so the rice birds, rats, and the worms of the rice field will spread. What shall we do to remove them?'

Et ittu-dak kullin hi-gayu hu impakulug nan Meknengan e
and will send I, future you FM OF, promised NFM God that is

humman ya linnawetu.
that TM spirit-his

'And I will send to you what God has promised, that is that which in his Spirit.' (Luke 24:49)

Attu pingway ey Ammundeh di baley.
where bolo question It's there LM house

'Where is the bolo? It's way over there near the house.'

Humman etan in-alik ni killum hu impihhuh tu.
that that brought-I NFM pig FM sold he

'It is that pig which I brought that he sold.'

Kandan hi-gatuy "Apu, idwasi dakemin nurman e kennen
said-they he, Lk Lord give you-us that which is food

ni kakkannen min kenayun.
NFM to eat we always

'They said to him, "Lord, give us that, which is food for us, to eat always.'" (John 6:34)

4H. Physical location, general reference to item distant or out of sight, highlighted.

Hedin tellaken mu mewan eya iddawat kun hi-gam man, ag
if lose you again this OF,give I,NFM you again not

dakalli law iddenawi.

I-you,future now OF,give to

'If you lose again this what I'll give to you, I'll never give you anything again.'

Hipadda etan nangngel nem kinehing da ? Inamata
Who-they that SF,Pst,hear but OF,Pst,disobey they OF,Pst,know

tayu e huyyadda tuud Israel ni hinelakniban Meknengan
we that these-they people,LM Israel NFM OF,Pst,saved God

di nanhimbutan dad Egypt ni nengipenguluan Moses ni
LM slavery their,LM Egypt NFM Pst,lead out Moses NFM

hi-gadad edum ni bebley.
they,LM other NFM country

'Who were those that heard but disobeyed? We know that it is those people of Israel whom God saved from their slavery in Egypt when Moses lead them to another country.' (Hebrews 3:16)

5. Cognitive location, specific abstract antecedent, 1st person source.

Pablo: Netey hi Appin. Alberto: Inamtak huttan.
dead FM Appin OF,knew that

Pablo: Kele inamtam huyya?
how OF,knew-you this

Pablo: 'Appin is dead.' Alberto: 'I knew that.' Pablo: 'How did you know that (what I just told you)?'

Huyya eya tayu kapan-ungbala hu imungbal dan
 this this we,inclusive talking FM talked about it they,NFM

nurman.

long ago

'This which we are talking about, they talked about it long ago.'

Et humman hu hi Jesus ey dammutun pekahhellakniban tudda
 and that FM FM Jesus Lk ability,NFM save completely he,they
etan kamarbeggan hi-gatun baddang niya mengiddinnel ni hi-gatun
 that SF request him,NFM help and SF trust NFM him,NFM
tudda peippaptek ni Meknengan ma-lat ag ida
 he,they cause to protect NFM God so that neg. they

mekastigu nem wadalli biyag dan endi pappeg tu.
 SF punished but there will be life their,NFM without endi its

Wada kabaelan Jesus ni mengippahding idan nunya
 there is ability Jesus NFM to do pl.NFM this

tep mambi-bi-yag ni ingganah ni mengi-ehneng ni
 because SF lives NFM forever NFM SF stand in behalf of NFM

hi-gadad hinanggan Meknengan.
 they,LM before,NFM God

'And therefore it is Jesus who is able to completely save those who ask him for help and who trust him for God's protection in order that they might not be punished but instead have eternal life. Jesus has the ability to do these things because he lives forever to stand on their behalf before God.' (Hebrews 7:25)

6. Cognitive location, specific abstract antecedent, 2nd person source.

Pablo: Netey hi Appin. Alberto: Inamtak huttan.
 dead FM Appin OF,knew that

Pablo: 'Appin is dead.' Alberto: 'I knew that (what you just said).'

Kayyaggud huttan ni ninemnem mu.
 good that NFM thought you

'That which you thought is good.'

Nandegeh hi ama ni nanghelan tun nuntan.
=====

was sick FM father NFM when said he, NFM that

'Father was sick when he said that (which you just told me).'

Neiptek huttan ni inhumang mu.
=====

correct that NFM OF, answer you

'That which you have answered is correct.'

Nem inhaut nan Pedro et kantuy "Tawwey ngu,

but OF, Pst, deny NFM Peter and said-he How would I know that,

eggak amta huttan ni muka pan-e-hela."
=====

not-I know this you, Pres talking about

'But Peter denied it and said, "I know nothing about that, I do not know what you are saying."' (Matthew 26:70)

7. Cognitive location, specific abstract antecedent, 3rd person.

Inamtan Jesus human ni daka nemnemnema.
=====

OF, knew Jesus that NFM they, present thinking

'Jesus knew that which they were thinking.' (Mark 2:8)

Ya ammed hu nengipanghel ni nunman e hedin
=====

TM ancestors FM told NFM that that is if

wada inugip pakkaw manlewit ita.

there is OF, dream must sacrifice we two

'Our grandparents were the ones who commanded that, that is, if there is something that is dreamt, we must offer a sacrifice.'

Hipa tu nanghelan nunman?
=====

why he say that

'Why did he say that?'

H. man tugun apu tayun nunman ingganah ni
=====

that advice grandparents we, inclusive, NFM long ago until NFM

nunya tayu katullutulluda.

now we, inclusive follow

'From long ago up to the present time we have been following that advice (that we offer sacrifices).'

Wada-ak ni nengipahdingan tun nunman.
=====

there-I NFM did he,NFM that

'I was present when he did that.'

7H. Cognitive location, specific abstract antecedent, non 1st person, highlighted.

Endi mi inenang-ang ni henneya, ebuh nunya.
=====

none we,exclusive.OF,saw NFM like this only now

'Before this we had never seen anything like this.' (Mark 2:12)
(Refers to the events involved in the miracle in which a lame man is made to walk.)

8. Cognitive location, general abstract antecedent, contextual source.

Ya lawah ni kapehpehding hu gaputun deita kapenumbuki

TM bad NFM to do FM reason they-us two gossip

tep lawah ida humman.
=====

because bad they those

'The bad things you do are the reason that they gossip about us because those (things you do) are bad.'

Endi nak dingngel ni hanniman.

not I OF,heard NFM like that

'I've never heard anything like that.'

Ya elaw ni pengibbillangan yun edum yun tuu ey henin
=====

TM way NFM to count you,NFM other you,NFM people lk like

nunman hu elaw ni pengibbillangan Meknengan ni hi-gayu.
=====

that FM way NFM to count God NFM you

'The way you regard your fellow men, like that is the way God will regard you.' (Matthew 7:2)

Nem dingngel nan Jesus humman et kantun Jairo ...
=====

but OF,heard NFM Jesus that and said he to Jairus

'But Jesus heard that and he said to Jairus ...' (Luke 8:50)

8H. Cognitive location, general abstract antecedent highlighted.

Kayyaggud humman ni impahding Meknengan ni hi-gatsun tuu.
 Good that NFM OF,did God NFM us people

Tep aye ya huyyan tu impenahding, tu binahbah emin
 because since TM this he OF,did he OF destroyed all

ammed tayun nunman ingganah wada itsun nunya,
 ancestors our long ago until there is we now

kayyaggud tu impenahding ni nunman.
 good he OF,did NFM long ago

'That which God did for us people is good. For this is what he did; even though he destroyed all our ancestors long ago, still we are alive today, so what God did long ago is good.'

9. Temporal location, specific, present time.

Gullat ma-nun ingkahhakey ni Meknengan e eleg hanneya
 if perchance make one NFM God that is not like this

e nambakbaklang hu ehel tayu talagan nan-i-ingeh ehel
 that is different FM speech our really same speech

tayu.
 our

'If God had made it (speech) only one and not like it is now with our languages all different, then really our speech would be all the same.' (DK93)

Ya eya huyyan mangiudan hu dakel sisit.
 TM this this,NFM rainy season FM many birds

'It is during this present rainy season that there are many birds.'

10. Temporal location, specific near past or future time.

Yan etan ni illian da hu binsikan tu.
 time,TM this NFM coming they FM ran away he

'Their coming a short while ago was the cause of his running away.'

Pigan tu penuwetan mun tuu et kastiguen mugda etan
 when it judge you, NFM people and punish you-they those
nematey ni hi-gami?
 killed NFM us

'When will you judge people and punish those who recently killed us?'
 (Revelation 6:10)

Entanni ey huttan hu immali gubat ey ebuhe tawwey, hu illian
 later on Lk when FM SF, came war Lk then not know FM came

di Blackburn nan Borman et iduttuk dad Du-ping,
 FM, plural Blackburn NFM Borman and went and stayed they, LM Du-ping
hi-gadaddan sindalu dadda.
 they, plural soldiers their-they

'Later on when the war came, I'm not certain about all the details,
 Blackburn and Borman came and they went and stayed at Du-ping with
 their soldiers.'

11. Temporal location, specific distant past or future.

Nangkamkamdug hu tuu eman ni gubat et humman eya
 mixed together FM people during NFM war and that that
nekamngaan tu degah deya.
 mixed together it sickness here

'The people were mixed together during the war long ago and that
 is the reason for the mixing together of sickness here.'

11H. Temporal location, nonpresent, highlighted.

Makulug huttan ni inhel mu nem en-entanni et ang-angen
 Tru that NFM OF, Pst, told you but later on and OF, NPst, see
yuwak e pengulluan ni emin ni tuun umyudung
 you-me that is older sibling NFM all NFM people, NFM SF, NPst, sit
ngak di kayuddungin keta-ta-geyan ni ap-apu di winannan
 I LM place of sitting highest NFM Lord LM right side of
Meknengan et hi-gak hu meihhayned ni hi-gatud saad mi tep
 God and I FM second rank NFM I rank our because
humman hu saad ku. Ang-angen yulli huyyan pambangngadan
 that FM rank my OF, NPst, see you fut this when return

kud puyek ey wadalli kulput di nanlinikweh di kad-an ku.
 I,LM earth and there will be clouds 'LM around LM near me

'What you have said is true because later on you will see me, the elder sibling of all people sitting in the place where the highest ruler sits at the right hand of God and I will be second in our rank (relative to one another) because that is our rank. You will see this when I return to earth and there will be clouds around me.'
 (Matthew 26:64)

12. Temporal location generic time.

Et inamta tayu e yan eman ni nemutukan Meknengan idan
 and OF, know we that TM during NFM chose God they, NFM
tuun man-ap-apu, endi hu ag maipesid pan-ap-apun ni tuu.
 people, NFM rule none FM neg. included rule people

'So we know that when God chose mankind to rule, there was nothing that was not included over which man was to rule.' (Hebrews 2:8)

12H. Temporal location generic time highlighted.

(No examples have been found yet.)

FOOTNOTES

¹ The people who speak Keley-i are Ifugao and they distinguish themselves from neighboring groups of Ifugao by means of the geographic designation, Antipolo Ifugao. For technical linguistic and anthropological purposes we refer to the language as Keley-i Kallahan. The language is spoken by approximately 3000 people in Ifugao Province south of Kiangnan.

² Without the perceptive comments and examples provided by Alberto Maddawat this paper could not have been written. Alberto is co-translator of the Keley-i New Testament. He was born in Caccaja Antipolo in 1950. Abbreviations to references made in the examples of texts are the following.

MO Text: Money
 DK Text: Dream about Kennedy

Abbreviations used in glosses are the followings:

Fut	future	OF	object focus
Lk	link	Pst	past
LM	location marker	SF	subject focus
NFM	nonfocus marker	TM	topic marker
NPst	nonpast		

³ According to the co-translator, however, eya, though less natural than huttan ni in this context is not entirely ungrammatical. We have no explanation for this as yet.

NOTES ON KELEY-I¹ RELATIONAL GRAMMAR - I

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Recent efforts on the part of relational grammarians² to establish the status of grammatical relations such as subject, object, and indirect object as primitives of linguistic theory look in many ways quite promising. The success of such an endeavour could simplify our grammars, contribute to their explanatory power, and provide us with a general theory of language that gives a more restricted and highly structured view of what a natural language can be, than have previous theories of similar scope.

This effort is a delicate one and there are numerous ways in which it could go wrong through no fault of the original insight itself. The degree to which the grammatical relations, subject, object, and indirect object have clearly identifiable properties differs greatly from language to language. A great deal of effort has been expended in attempts to come up with lists of properties that define such relations (Keenan, 1976) or that in some way attempt to say how one might recognize a subject if he ever saw one, for example, in a Malayo-Polynesian language. (Schachter, 1976).

If one firmly believes that subject, object, and indirect object are undefined primitives in linguistic theory, one might be tempted to say that the effort to construct property lists for these relations is misguided, since grammatical primitives need no definition. On the other hand, one may well ask what limits the theory places upon descriptions of particular languages that purport to make use of these primitives. Theoretically motivated heuristic is badly out of fashion these days and unless some workable constraints are placed upon the descriptions upon which the theory feeds, there will be the possibility that the identification of subject, object, and indirect object in different languages may differ not only because the languages themselves differ, but also because the analysts tacitly differ in their views of these relations. Typologies based upon such descriptions will contain too many types, covering not only valid differences between languages, but making room as well for nonanalogous treatments of the same relationships. The general view of language that results will contain too many options.

If we take seriously a goal posited by Johnson, 1977, namely that of discovering universal principles referring to grammatical relations at work in natural languages in order to incorporate them into general linguistic theory and thereby limiting the rules that any particular language can have, we must also take seriously the task of providing analogous descriptions for the languages upon which such a general theory is constructed.

This paper is the first in a series of papers in which we would like to contribute to the ultimate success of this relatively delicate undertaking. We will be exploring the consequences of the following assumptions for the description of Keley-i: 1) There are at least three systems that must be distinguished in the description of Keley-i, a system of referential relations, a system of semantic role relations, and a system of grammatical relations. 2) The system of referential relations includes focus and topicalization. 3) The system of semantic role relations involves case-like relations such as actor, experiencer, ambient, essive, causer, conveyed item, patient, site, instrument, benefactive, as well as time and place. 4) The system of grammatical relations involves the terms, subject, object, and indirect object as well as nonterms. These assumptions are laid out in chart form in Figure 1.

In this series of papers we will be viewing each of the relational systems represented in Figure 1 as conceptually independent, even though the sets often interact closely with one another. The properties of subject, object, and indirect object which are most syntactic in nature (and least referential and least related to semantic roles) are the properties that will be taken as central to the description of these grammatical relations. Again one may ask, why, if we are prepared to accept grammatical relations as primitives, do we feel compelled to describe them. The answer is that we wish to establish as firmly as possible the basis upon which we claim that our account of subject, object, and indirect object deserves to be viewed as the account most analogous to that given of these relations for languages in which they are far less problematical. It is not our intention to argue that Keley-i does or does not have a subject, object, or indirect object. This we assume.

There are several labels that have been particularly troublesome in discussions of Philippine languages that deserve a brief explanation at this point,³ namely, focus, topic, and subject. We do not intend to reiterate the history of their use (E. Cubar, 1975) but we, at the very least, need to say what we mean by these labels in Figure 1.

Focus has been used by some linguists to refer to a proposed constituent in preverbal or prepredicate position (see Schachter, 1973 for one example of this usage). Other linguists (Pike, 1963) have used the label, focus, to refer to the special relationship that exists between a verb and the constituent whose role relation to the verb is marked by the affix on the verb. We have chosen to use focused item to refer to the noun phrase which is singled out to be marked as definitely or specifically referential. In using the term, focus, we also have reference to the fact that when one of the noun phrases in construction with the verb is singled out as the focused item of the clause, this choice is registered in the verb by means of an affix that marks certain aspects of the semantic relationship that obtains between the verb and the focused noun phrase.

One of the most important factors involved in noun phrase candidacy for focus assignment is either definite or specific reference. (N. Cubar, 1973, C.K. Oh, 1971) A noun phrase is considered to be definitely referential if it refers to something which is known both to the speaker and the hearer. A noun phrase is considered to be specifically referential if it refers to a specific item even though it may not be known by the hearer.⁴ In our usage focus is a relationship not a constituent.

Topic has been used by some linguists to refer to a noun phrase whose role relation to the verb is marked by the affix on the verb. (See Schachter, 1973 for an example.) Topic has been used by others (Li, 1976; McKaughan, 1973) to refer to a noun phrase that is preposed to the predicate or to the main verb of a clause.

We have chosen to refer to the preposed noun phrase by means of the label, topic, whether this topic is the focused item of the verb or not. There will be instances in which a topic is also the focused item of a clause. And there will be other instances in which the topic is not the focused item and in which the focused item is not the topic. These two constituent relationships are clearly identified in Keley-i by means of verb morphology and word order. The distinction is also reflected in pronominal and demonstrative forms (see D. Hohulin and Hale, this volume). Keley-i is one Philippine language for which there needs be no confusion at this point.

Subject has been used to refer to the actor noun phrase (see, for example, McKaughan, 1962). Other linguists (or the same linguists at other times) have used subject to refer to the noun phrase whose role relation to the verb is reflected by verbal affixation (McKaughan, 1973, Keenan, 1976, Harmon, diss.). It has also been used to refer to the non-predicate equivalent of the ang-phrase in Tagalog, though this usage overlaps to a great extent with the usage of McKaughan, 1973. Our use of this term differs in various ways from all of these major uses and will be discussed at length in the course of these papers. The subject relation cannot be adequately dealt with apart from the various systems which impinge upon it.

As a starting point, however, it may be useful to note that there seems to be a strong tendency for certain semantic role relations to cluster about the subject relation (agents, causers, experiencers, essives, and ambients almost invariably turn out to be subjects) the object relation (conveyed items, patients, and sites almost invariably turn out to be objects), and the indirect object relation (beneficiaries and contrary to what might be expected, instruments, as well, almost invariably turn out to be indirect objects). This observation is only a starting point. It is not a definition (grammatical relations are taken here to be primitives). It is not even the basic description of subject in Keley-i since this correlation involves semantic roles rather than processes or properties that are essentially syntactic. As a starting point, however, it seems to be remarkably reliable for Keley-i

and may give the reader a better feel for subject in Keley-i than anything else that could be intelligibly presented at this point in our discussion.

Referential Relations	Topicalization	Introductory Contrastive Setting		
	Focus	Definite (Known to speaker and hearer) Specific (Specifically identified)		
Grammatical Relations	Subject	Object		
			Indirect Object	Nonterms
Semantic Role Relations	Agent	Conveyed	Instrument	Time
	Causer	Patient	Benefactive	Place
	Experiencer	Site		
	Essive			
	Ambient			
Relational Systems	Elements of the Systems			

Figure 1. Systems distinguished as a starting point for the description of Keley-i

I. The Independence of Grammatical Relations in Keley-i.

One of the most helpful and germane discussions in our consideration of grammatical relations leading to this paper was that of Schachter, 1976. The fact that we end up disagreeing with his conclusions should not be allowed to hide the fact that his insights were pivotal in the development of our own thoughts on the matter.

Schachter seems to start with the assumption that if there is a subject in Philippine languages it must be reducible either to actor, to topic (which in our terminology is the focused item) or to a combination of actor in underlying structure and topic (focused item) in surface structure. Under the last alternative focused items which are also actors would be primary subjects, focused items which are not actors would be derived subjects. He has shown that subject is not reducible in any of these three ways. Subject cannot be identified in every case with an actor, nor can it be identified in every case with the focused item, and the problems involved are not entirely solved by a solution that takes the actor as the underlying subject and derives surface subjects by focus assignment. His argument rests crucially upon the fact that he can identify subjects in Philippine languages well enough to say that they do not reduce in any of these ways. To this point we are in general quite willing to agree with the major thrust of his argument. His next step, however, requires the assumption that the three alternatives given somehow exhaust the relevant universe of possibilities so far as the identification of subject in Philippine languages is concerned. Given this assumption his conclusion follows naturally enough, namely, that there is nothing in Philippine languages that corresponds to subjects in other languages. Given a different assumption, namely, that the subject relation might in principle be independent both of referential relations (which are basic for the consideration of focused items) and of semantic role relations (which are basic for the consideration of things like actors), his conclusion simply does not follow. Supposing, however, that instead of discovering what he did, Schachter had discovered that the focused item in Philippine languages was in every case and in every respect exactly what we would expect of the subject. On the basis of his assumption he would have probably been justified in claiming that Philippine languages did indeed have subjects, namely focused items. On the basis of our assumptions we probably would have been led on the same evidence to doubt whether Philippine languages had subjects at all. If subject is reducible to focused item, why does one need them both? If subject has no private life of its own, what claim can be made for its existence? In other words, what Schachter found strongly inclines us to believe that Philippine languages do have subjects, and that these subjects participate in a system of grammatical relations that is independent of the system of referential relations on the one hand and that is also independent of the system of semantic role relations on the other. Furthermore, if our assumptions turn out to be correct, the characteristics that will be central to a description of subject in Keley-i will be syntactic or grammatical characteristics rather than semantic or referential ones.

Consider now a few arguments from Keley-i that tend to support the view that grammatical relations have some right to an independent status within Keley-i grammar, even if the description also takes account of the necessary referential relations and semantic role relations.

A. Evidence from Keley-i Reflexives.

There are two kinds of reflexives in Keley-i, true reflexives and 'body' reflexives. Consider first the true reflexives.

True reflexives are formed by coalescing coreferential subject and object noun phrases into a single focused noun phrase and by attaching the prefix, nan- to the verb. Only underlying objects may participate in reflexivizations. Objects derived from indirect objects by indirect object advancement may not participate. Furthermore causative verbs do not undergo reflexivization.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. <u>Nampatey</u> <u>hi Juan.</u> | 'John killed himself.' |
| Refl, killed FM John. | |
| 2. <u>Nanha-ad</u> <u>dak.</u> | 'I placed myself.' (More freely, |
| Refl, placed F,I | 'I am living or staying somewhere.') |
| 3. <u>Nambullu</u> <u>ak.</u> | 'I washed myself.' (more freely, |
| Refl, washed F,I | 'I washed my hands.') |

(Refl stands for reflexive; FM, for focus marker; F, for focused form.)

In the informal description of this construction just given we have talked about subjects and objects. But now the question comes as to whether or not this is the best way for the grammar to refer to these constituents.

True reflexives in Keley-i provide fairly good evidence that grammatical relations such as subject, object, and indirect object cannot be reduced to referential relations such as focus and topicalization. That the reflexive is independent of topicalization seems clear from the fact that the reflexive is independent of topicalization seems clear from the fact that the focused noun phrase in the true reflexive construction can occur either post verbally as in Examples 1 - 3 or as a preposed topic as in Examples 1a - 3a.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1a. <u>Hi Juan ey nampatey.</u> | 'It was John who killed himself.' |
| FM John Lk Refl, killed | |
| 2a. <u>Hi-gak, nanha-ad.</u> | 'It was I who was living (some- |
| T,I Refl, placed | where).' |
| 3a. <u>Hi-gak, nambullu.</u> | 'It was I who washed (my hands).' |
| T,I Refl, washed | |

(Lk stands for linker and T for topic form.)

The grammatical relation of focused noun phrase to reflexive verb is the same whether it is topicalized or not. In both cases it functions both as subject and as object. There seems to be no reason to make any reference at all to preposed topics in the rule for true reflexives.

Could the rule for true reflexivization be simplified by stating it in terms of focused and nonfocused items? Probably not. If the rule were to be rewritten as the coalescence of two noun phrases, one focused and the other nonfocused, we would get ungrammatical reflexives derived by the coalescence of objects with indirect objects.

4. Intudun Pedro eya elaw 'Peter taught my way to me.'
OF, taught, NFM Peter this way

kun hi-gak.
my, NFM me

5. Sinuduan tuwak nan Pedro 'Peter taught me concerning
OF, taught he, F, I NFM Peter my way.'

ni aeippanggep ni elaw ku.
NFM concerning NFM way my

(OF stands for object focus; NFM for non-focus marker - note that the non-focus marker ni which marks noun phrases is contracted to the verb and the possessive pronoun in example 4.)

In example 4 the direct object 'this my way' is the focused noun phrase and the indirect object 'to me' is the nonfocused noun phrase. In example 5 the advanced indirect object 'me' is the focused noun phrase, and the chomeur 'concerning my way' is the nonfocused noun phrase. By writing the rule to refer to focus and nonfocused noun phrases, unnecessary complexity would be introduced but it is also doubtful that any rule could be written which would not potentially produce ungrammatical reflexive constructions.

- *6. Nantudu ak nan Pedro.
Refl, taught F, I NFM Peter

*'Peter taught my way to myself.'
(The reflexive of example 4.)

OR

*'Peter taught myself my way.'
(The reflexive of example 5.)

Subject and object are crucially involved in reflexivization, and there is, in fact, very little evidence as to the focus status of the underlying forms. The attempt to restate the rule in terms of referential relations, whether topicalization or focus, seems an entirely futile enterprise. At least at this point grammatical relations cannot be reduced to referential ones.

Can the rule for true reflexivization be restated in terms of semantic role relations? The answer to that question is most likely yes. According to the summary statement in Figure 1, agents, causers, experiencers, essives, and ambients can only be subjects. Conveyed items, patients, and sites can only be grammatical objects. If this turns out to be correct, then it will always be possible to restate any rule which refers to subject as a rule that applies to agents, causers, experiencers, essives, and ambients. The cost in this case is not that the rule cannot be stated at all. Rather, the loss of a generalization is at stake.

In order to see to what extent a generalization is at stake here we need to determine what semantic role relations are involved in the true reflexive rule. Consider the following sentences.

- 1b. Pintey tu hi Juan. 'He killed John.'
 OF,kill he FM John
- 2b. Inha-ad ku libluh di det-al. 'I placed the book on the floor.'
 OF,placed I book LM floor
- 3b. Binulluan ku ngamay ni mahhiken. 'I washed (the dirt from)
 OF,washed I hands PM boy the hands of the boy.'

(OF stands for object focus; FM, for focus marker; LM, for location marker; and PM, for possessive marker.)

In Example 1b the verb has the infix, -in- which is normal for focused object where the object is the affected patient. Example 2b has a verb with the prefix, in- which is normal for object focus where the object is the conveyed item. Example 3b has a verb with the infix, -in-, followed by the suffix, -an. This is normal object focus affixation where the object is a site. The rule for true reflexivization appears to take no notice of this set of distinctions; it applies in the same way to all three kinds of objects. To state the rule in terms of semantic roles rather than in terms of grammatical relations, so far as the object is concerned, would be to miss a generalization.

The case for the subject is not nearly so strong. True reflexivization can apply only to verbs which refer to actions that can be self-inflicted. The set of verbs is thus necessarily transitive, which could in any event have been predicted from the original statement of the rule in grammatical terms. This, then, eliminates essives and ambients from the set of possible subject roles to which the rule could apply. Another constraint upon this rule is that true reflexive cannot apply to verbs of experience and as previously stated, causative verbs do not undergo reflexivization. This reduces the eligible set of subject roles to agent only. The restriction on the application of true reflexive can be stated in terms of semantic roles, in which case the rule applies only to agents, and since agents can only be subjects in any event no reference need be made to subjects as such. On the other hand, the rule can

be stated in terms of subject with the stipulation that it cannot apply to experience and causative verbs. Certainly nothing is lost by writing the rule in terms of grammatical relations, but so far as the subject is concerned, no strong argument has yet been made in its favor.

The argument from true reflexives provides some very good evidence to support the claim that unless grammatical relations are distinguished from semantic role relations and from referential relations we stand to lose the ability to capture certain generalizations that could otherwise be simply stated.

Consider now the 'body' reflexives. 'Body' reflexives are simply transitive sentences in which there is a focused object which has the noun, annel 'body' as its head, and a pronoun that is coreferential with the subject of the sentence as its possessor. Examples 7 through 10 illustrate this construction.

7. Inang-ang tu annel tud diggat. 'He saw his body in a mirror.'
OF,saw he body his,LM mirror (Or 'he saw himself in a mirror.')
8. Ebuh annel tu tukanemnemnema. 'It's only his body he thinks
only body his OF,he is thinking about.' (Or, it's only himself he thinks about.)
9. Linena tu annel tu. 'He oiled his body.'
OF,oiled he body his
10. Tuka peta-gey annel tu. 'He is elevating himself
he,Pres Caus,be high body his (over others).'

(OF stands for object focus; LM, for location marker; Pres, for present; and Caus, for causative.) The subjects of Examples 7 and 8 are experiencers, that of 9 is an agent, that of 10, a causer. The body reflexive construction is transitive. As a result essives and ambients do not figure as possible subjects. The only possible subject roles for transitive constructions are agent, experiencer, and causer. From the examples given above it can be seen that all the possible roles are involved. The rule applies without regard to semantic role relations. It applies simply to whatever can be the subject of a transitive sentence. To write the rule to apply to the semantic role relations would be to miss a generalization that could be captured by writing the rule in terms of grammatical relations.

This construction also provides evidence that subject cannot be reduced to the notion, focused item, without losing the analogy between the notion of subject in Keley-i and the notion of subject in non Philippine languages for which the relation is clear. According to Schachter (1976:503), in all clear cases (non Philippine languages) the subject controls reflexivization but may not itself be reflexivized. In examples

7 through 10 it is the 'body' reflexive form, annel tu 'his body /himself' that is in focus. If the focused item in Keley-i is the subject, then it is a subject that runs counter to all the clear cases since it does not control reflexivization but is itself reflexivized. If we are to preserve the analogy between subjects in Keley-i and subjects in non Philippine languages for which the notion of subject is a clear one, then at least at this point we must reject the idea that the subject relation can be reduced to that of focused item. At least here the system of grammatical relations is independent of the system of referential relations.

We noted above that the evidence in favor of writing the true reflexive rule in terms of grammatical relations rather than in terms of semantic role relations was somewhat stronger for objects than it is for subjects. In the body reflexive construction the evidence for writing the rule in terms of grammatical relations is stronger for subjects than it is for objects. All examples thus far have the object, annel plus possessive, as the patient.

There are other respects in which the true reflexive and the 'body' reflexive are complementary constructions to one another in Keley-i. For any given verb there is only one natural reflexive construction. For a few verbs it is possible to elicit both constructions, but one of the two is unnatural, and in all likelihood would never occur in natural discourse. Underived verbs such as patey 'kill', ha=ad 'place', and bullu 'wash hands' which have subjects with the role of agent and which express action that can be self-inflicted can undergo the true reflexive rule but not the 'body' reflexive rule. On the other hand, derived verbs such as linena 'oil (the body)' (from lana 'oil'), sinebun 'soap (the body)' (from tabun 'soap') and inagah 'apply medicine (to the body)' (from agah 'medicine') all of which have agents for subjects and express action that can be self-inflicted can undergo the 'body' reflexive rule but not the true reflexive rule. Finally, verbs such as ang-ang 'see' and nemnem 'think' which have experiencers for subjects can undergo the 'body' reflexive rule but not the true reflexive rule. In defining the domains of these two reflexive rules it seems necessary to refer to semantic role relations. Why it is that the true reflexive rule applies to all objects alike but only to certain roles of the subject, whereas the 'body' reflexive rule applies to all subjects alike but only to the patient role of the object will be an interesting matter for further study.

B. Evidence from Keley-i Reciprocals.

Informally the reciprocal construction in Keley-i can be described as involving 1) the coalescence of the subjects and the objects of their underlying (or entailed) predication into a single focused noun phrase and 2) the affixation of the verb with the form nan-in-CVr- (where CVr- stands for reduplication of the first consonant and vowel of the root). The key issue here is whether or not the statement as to which constituents trigger reciprocalization, and which constituents

are coalesced in the resultant focused noun phrase is best made in terms of grammatical relations. If the rule must refer to subjects and objects to save a generalization or to be statable at all, then the reciprocal construction in Keley-i can form the basis for another argument in support of the view that grammatical relations are needed for a description of Keley-i and deserve independent status within that description.

Reciprocal sentences in Keley-i have a number of semantic entailments which need to be accounted for in any adequate description. Subjects and objects are understood to be coreferential sets of participants that are partitioned into at least two subsets, and the interpretation of the reciprocal involves a predication for each ordered pair of subsets. Thus the statement,

11. Nan-imbabaddang di Juan hi 'John, Bill and Mary helped one
Recip, helped pl John FM another.'

Bil et hi Mely.
Bill and FM Mary

entails six different predications:

12. Binaddangan nan Juan hi Bil. 'John helped Bill.'
OF, helped NFM John FM Bill
13. Binaddangan nan Juan hi Mely. 'John helped Mary.'
OF, helped NFM John FM Mary
14. Binaddangan nan Bil hi Juan. 'Bill helped John.'
OF, helped NFM Bill FM John
15. Binaddangan nan Bil hi Mely. 'Bill helped Mary.'
OF, helped NFM Bill FM Mary
16. Binaddangan nan Mely hi Juan. 'Mary helped John.'
OF, helped NFM Mary FM John
17. Binaddangan nan Mely hi Bil. 'Mary helped Bill.'
OF, helped NFM Mary FM Bill

A subset is not paired with itself, thus the construction does not entail the following predications.

- *18. Binaddangan nan Juan hi Juan. *'John helped John.'
OF, helped NFM John FM John
- *19. Binaddangan nan Mely hi Mely. *'Mary helped Mary.'
OF, helped NFM Mary FM Mary

- *20. Binaddangan nan Bil hi Bil. *'Bill helped Bill.'
 OF, helped NFM Bill FM Bill

For plurals which are not overtly partitioned it is not possible to re-construct an explicit account of the entailed predications given only the surface structure of the reciprocal sentence. Thus in the sentence,

21. Nan-imbabaddan idan emin. 'They all helped one another.'
 Recip, helped they all

no enumeration of entailed predications can be made without an enumeration of the partitioned subsets which form the antecedent of 'they all'. It is still entailed, however, that 'they all' refers to a set with at least two discrete subsets, A and B, and it is entailed that A helped B and that B helped A. Whatever occurs as the object of one entailed predication must also occur as the subject of another entailed predication.

If syntax is to be involved at all in the account that relates the surface structure of a reciprocal to its semantic interpretation in Keley-i, it is fairly clear that the relevant regularities are best captured by rules that refer to grammatical relations, as distinct from referential relations or semantic role relations.

How should the grammar refer to the underlying constituents that are entailed or coalesced within the focused noun phrase? What underlying relationships are involved and what is the most general way to refer to these relationships? In the informal statement of the rule given above we have referred to these relations as the grammatical relations, subject and object. Could we have referred to them as the referential relations, focused and nonfocused? This seems unlikely. While it is often the underlying object that we find in focus in surface sentences that correspond to the entailments underlying the reciprocal, the designation 'nonfocused noun phrase' will not uniquely specify the subject. It is possible to have several nonfocused noun phrases in such an underlying sentence, only one of which is the subject. In such cases a rule of reciprocalization stated in terms of focused noun phrases simply would not work.

22. Indawat nan Juan hu libluh nan Bil. 'John gave the book to
 OF,gave NFM John FM book NFM Bill Bill.'

In example 22 there are two nonfocused NPs, the subject and indirect object, and a focused NP which is logically not eligible for reciprocalization because it is -animate.

- 22a. Indawatan nan Juan hi Bil ni libluh. 'John gave Bill a book.'
 OF,gave NFM John FM Bill NFM book

In example 22a, the subject and indirect objects are again nonfocused noun phrases, and the direct object is the focused item.

23. Indawatan nan Juan hi Bil ni libluh. 'John gave Bill a book.'
 OP, gave NFM John FM Bill NFM book
- 23a. Indawatan nan Bil hi Juan ni libluh. 'Bill gave John a book.'
 OP, gave NFM Bill FM John NFM book
24. Nan-indadawat di Bil nan Juan ni 'Bill and John gave
 Recip, gave pl Bill NFM John NFM each other a book.'
- libluh.
 book

Could the rule refer to preposed topics? Since preposed topics are not required in the underlying forms, and since in any event a preposed topic may be not only a subject, an object, an indirect object, or a nonterm, to refer to a preposed topic in no way guarantees the relevant set of relations. If neither focus nor topicalization can be used to designate the relevant set of constituents to be coalesced in reciprocalization, then it appears that referential relations as summarized in Figure 1 are not what are at stake in this rule.⁶

Could the rule refer to semantic role relations? Clearly it could, but the question is whether or not a single pair of such relations suffices to characterize coalescence. Consider the following examples.

25. Nan-in-a-ang-ang ida. 'They saw each other.'
 Recip, saw they
26. Nan-in-a-amtadda. 'They knew each other.'
 Recip, knew, they
27. Nan-imbabbaddang ida tuu. 'The people helped each
 Recip, helped Pl people other.'
28. Nan-in-hehhegnit ida. 'They provoked each other.'
 Recip, provoked they
29. Nan-indaddawat idan libluh. 'They gave each other books.'
 Recip, gave they, NFM book

Examples 25 and 26 involve underlying semantic relations of experiencer and patient.

Example 27 involves underlying semantic relations of agent and site.

Example 28 involves underlying semantic relations of agent and patient.

Example 29 involves underlying semantic relations of agent and beneficiary.

It is clear, then, that the full range of semantic roles that cluster with transitive subjects can occur with the coalesced subject of the reciprocal in Keley-i. To formulate the rule in terms of agents and experiencers rather than in terms of subjects or in terms of patient, site, and beneficiary rather than direct objects would be to miss a generalization.

C. Evidence from Keley-i Topicalization.There are four varieties of topicalization in Keley-i

1. Setting topicalization. In this variety of topicalization the setting is preposed without any cross reference or focus alteration of the main clause. Occurrence of a setting topic does not preclude the occurrence of expressions of time or location within the main clause.

30. Yad bebley ni Malikanu 'In the Americans' country
 TM country NFM American they are building large
ida kamengapyan chicken houses.'
 they are building, NFM
etteteng ni baley ni manuk.
 large NFM bouse NFM chicken

31. Kewa-wa-wa ida kaum-igtang 'Every day they are selling
 every day they are selling their chickens.'
ni manuk da.
 NFM chicken their

(TM stands for topic marker; depending on the form of the time noun phrase, the topic marker yan may or may not be required. Example 30 illustrates a place setting and example 31, a time setting.)

2. Introductory topicalization. The subject of a transitive verb can be topicalized by way of introduction within a discourse. In this variety of topicalization the introduced item is preposed, linked to the main clause by ey or juncture (,) and is cross referenced within the main clause by means of a nonfocused shadow pronoun. The focused item of the main clause is the object and the only constituent of the main clause that can stand in subject relation to the verb is the shadow pronoun which cross references the preposed topic.

32. Ya kalnero agda amta 'Sheep, they don't know how
 TM sheep not, they know to look for their food.'
anmenang-ang ni kennen da...
 look NFM food their

33. Hi apu hi Pungud 'Grandfather Pungud, he
 FM grandfather FM name feasted the crab.'
hiningbu tu hu alma.
 feasted he FM crab

3. Contrastive topicalization (primary). The subject of an intransitive verb or the object of a transitive verb can be contrastively topicalized. In this variety of topicalization, the contrasted item is preposed, linked to the main clause by hu or juncture (,) and is cross referenced to the main clause by the normal focus affixation of the main

verb. Whatever the grammatical relation is that the contrasted topic bears with respect to the main verb, no other noun phrase of that relationship can occur within the main clause.

34. Yadda Malikanu limmaw di 'It was the Americans who went
 TM, Pl American SF, went LM to the moon.'

bulan.
 moon.

35. Hi Johnny hu dakatattakusi 'It is Johnny whom they are
 FM FM they, are fearing fearing in Napayew.'

di Napayew.
 LM name-of-village

4. Contrastive topicalization (secondary). The subject of a transitive verb or a nonterm (time or location) can be contrastively topicalized. In this variety of topicalization, the contrasted item is preposed, linked to the main clause by ey or juncture (,) and is cross referenced to the main clause by means of special topic affixation. It is not possible to identify a focused item in sentences of this type.

36. Hi Juan nengikandug ni 'It was John who mixed your
 FM John mixed NFM books with my books last night.'

libluh mud libluh kun nahdem.
 book your book my last night

37. Yad bebley ni Malikanu 'It is in the Americans'
 TM country NFM American country, where they are
 making large chicken houses.'

dakapengapyain etteteng
 they, are making large

ni baley ni manuk.
 NFM bouse NFM chicken.

38. Kewa-wa-wa dakapengigtangin 'It's every day, they are
 every day they, are selling selling their chickens.'

manuk da.
 chicken their

(Cf. examples 30 and 31. The morphology of the verbs signal whether the topicalization is setting or contrastive - secondary.)

The informal statement of topicalization rules has made considerable use of the grammatical relations, subject and object. The question now is whether the rules could be improved by replacing all reference to grammatical relations with references either to referential relations or semantic role relations.

Consider first the matter of introductory topicalization, in which the object must be focused if the subject is to be topicalized. Clearly, since the notion of focused item already has been used in the statement of the rule it will not do to attempt to replace the references to subject

44. Ya kulet intanem inad 'Cabbage was what mother
 TM cabbage OF,planted mother,LM planted in the rice field.'
payew.
 rice field
45. Hi Pablo dimpap ni pulit 'Pablo was the one whom the
 FM Paul OF,arrested NFM police police arrested yesterday.'
ni kaalman.
 NFM yesterday
46. Ya balwasim binalbalan inan 'Your clothing is what mother
 TM clothing,your OF,washed mother washed today.'
nunya.
 today

Example 42 has the agent of an intransitive verb as its topic. Example 43 has the experiencer of an intransitive verb as its topic. Example 44 has the conveyed item of a transitive verb as its topic. Example 45 has the patient of a transitive verb as its topic. Example 46 has the site of a transitive verb as its topic. The rule applies to intransitive subjects and to transitive objects without regard to the semantic roles they play. To rewrite the rule in terms of semantic role relations would be to miss a generalization.

Secondary contrastive topicalization was presented above as applying to transitive subjects in clauses in which no focused item could be identified. Focus apparently plays no role at all. The rule could be rewritten in terms of semantic role relations. We have, however, many examples such as the following:

47. Hi Pablo nengiha-ad ni libluh mud 'Paul was the one who
 FM Paul placed NFM book your placed your book in the
caban.
 chest
48. Hi Juan nengamtan illian mi. 'John is the one who knew
 FM John knew, NFM coming our about our coming.'
49. Hi Juan nengipeamtan illian mi. 'John is the one who made
 FM John Caus,known,NFM coming our known our coming.'

Example 47 has a topic which is an agent. Example 48 has topic which is an experiencer. Example 49 has a topic which is a causer. The rule applies to all transitive subjects without regard to the semantic role relationships involved. To rewrite the rule in terms of semantic role relations would be to miss a generalization.

Figure 2 summarizes the respective domains of these four rules for topicalization.

Rule	Constituent Topicalized		
	Nonterm Time/Place	Subject of Transitive	Object of Transitive or Subject of Intransitive
1. Setting (ST)	ST applies (normal focus)	---	---
2. Introductory (IT)	---	IT applies (object focus)	---
3. Contrast-1 (CT1)	---	---	CT1 applies (topic is focused)
4. Contrast-2 (CT2)	CT2 applies (no focus)	CT2 applies (no focus)	---

Figure 2. Domains of application for topicalization rules in Keley-i

It should be noted before passing on that there is no overlap in the environments to which introductory topicalization, primary contrastive topicalization, and secondary topicalizations can apply. The following are the terms which are accessible to topicalization in Keley-i. For each term or constituent type there is only one of these three rules that can apply.

Subject of a transitive, object focus clause	IT can apply
Subject of a transitive, non-object focus clause	CT2 can apply
Subject of an intransitive, subject focus clause	CT1 can apply
Object of either a transitive or intransitive (derived to transitive) object focus clause.	CT1 can apply

It may be observed that nonfocused subjects can be topicalized but that non-focused objects cannot.

On the basis of their complementary domains of application, one might want to argue that these three rules should be considered as subparts of a single topicalization rule for terms in Keley-i. One reason for arguing this is the observation that Rule CT1 otherwise appears to violate the accessibility hierarchy if taken as a rule by itself. Transitive objects are accessible to Rule CT1 but transitive subjects are not. Rule CT1 has something ergative about it.

D. Evidence from Keley-i Relativization.

For three of the four varieties of topicalization in Keley-i there is a corresponding variety of relative clause.

There are introductory relative clauses in which the noun phrase head is cross referenced by a nonfocused shadow pronoun which is the subject of the relative clause and in which there is a focused object.

50. Kameikkellabut hu tuun agtu 'A person who does not re-
being jailed FM person, RM not, he spect the flag is jailed.'

lispituha bandelah.
OF, respecting flag

51. Dinanglelan idan dakel 'The many people who went
OF, made slippery they, NFM many before made this trail
slippery.'

ni tuun limaw (ida)
NFM person, NFM SF, went they

la eya dalan.
past this trail

There are primary contrastive relative clauses in which the head of the noun phrase is cross referenced by normal focus affixation on the verb of the relative clause. The relativized noun phrase within the relative clause can be either the subject of an intransitive verb, as in Example 52 and 53 or the object of a transitive verb, as in Example 54, in this type of embedded relative clause construction.

52. Huyya duntug ni kaumbuduk. 'This mountain explodes.'
 this mountain RM explodes (volcano)
53. ...mandaddan tuun '...a person who lives near
 Refl,prepare person,RM there will prepare himself
 (to leave).'
nambebley di neihnup diman.
 SF,lives LM near there
54. Sillak ku etan libluh tun 'I lost his book which I bor-
 OF,lost I that book his,RM rowed and so my father paid
 for it.'
binneh ku et baydan
 OF,borrowed I and OF,paid
nan ama.
 NFM father

There are also secondary contrastive relative clauses in which the head of the noun phrase is cross referenced by means of special affixation on the main verb of the relative clause. The relativized noun phrase in this construction can be either the subject of a transitive verb within the relative clause as in Example 55, or nonterms as in Examples 56 and 57.

55. Huyya hu agik ni 'This is my brother who advised
 this FM brother, my RM me in Antipolo.'
nenagun ni hi-gak di
 advised NFM me LM
 Antipolo.
 name-of-place
56. Inang-ang mi hi Pinkihan eman 'We saw Pinkihan then that time
 OF,saw we FM name then when Pugung had killed him.'
ni nematyan nan Pugung ni hi-gatu.
 RM had killed NFM name NFM him
57. Umlaw hi Tomasa di bebley ni 'Thomasa will go to the vil-
 SF,go FM name LM village RM lage where her in-laws for-
 merly lived.'

nanha-adan idan anned ni ahwatu.
 lived they parents NFM mate,her

It appears that very nearly the same set of rules that form preposed topics can be used to form relative clauses in Keley-i.

One minor difference between the two constructions is in the linking particle that is involved in each. Preposed topics are linked to their main clauses with ey, hu or juncture (,), whereas noun heads are linked to their relative clauses in one of two ways. Where a relative clause is used to identify the head, the particle ni is used, as in Examples 50 through 57 above. Where a relative clause is used to describe the head or provide additional information about the head, the particle e is used. In the examples that follow we have the set of examples in e that correspond to the set in ni given above.

58. Neikelabut hi Tomas e agtu 'Thomas, who was not re-
 SF,jailed FM Thomas RM not,he specting the flag, has been
lispituha bandelah.
 OF,respecting flag jailed.'
59. Dinanglelan nan Tomas 'Thomas, who went to Kiangon
 OF,made slippery NFM Thomas earlier, made this trail
e limmaw lad Kiangon eya
 RM SF,went past village this
dalan.
 trail slippery.'
60. Huyya duntug di Taal e 'This is the mountain Taal,
 this mountain LM name RM which explodes.'
kaumbebduk.
 explodes
61. ...mandaddan hi Tomasa e 'Thomasa, who lives near
 Refl,prepare FM name RM there, will prepare herself
nambebley di neihnup diman.
 SF,lives LM near there (to leave).'
62. Sillak ku libluh Bert ni 'I lost Bert's Math book,
 OF,lost I book name NFM which was just bought yes-
Math pakegatang ni kaalman.
 just bought NFM yesterday terday.'

63. Dimmateng di Pedro e nengi-lin 'Pedro and his companions,
SF,arrived P1 Peter RM brought who brought the pig to
our house, arrived.'
killum di baley.
pig LM house
64. Inang-ang mi hi Pinkihan ni 'We saw Pinkihan on Wednes-
OF,saw we FM name NFM day, the day that Pedro
socked him.'
katlu c aggew ni nenuntukan
Wednesday RM day NFM socked
nan Pedro ni hi-gatu.
NFM Peter NFM him
65. Umlaw hi Tomasa di Baguio e 'Tomasa will go to Baguio,
SF,go FM name LM city RM where her in-laws former-
ly lived.'
nanha-adan ida lan ammed
lived they past parents
ni ahwatu.
NFM mate,her
- The arguments which support the view that grammatical relations have a legitimate right to be recognized independently of referential and semantic role relations and which can be posed on the basis of relative clauses are entirely parallel to those just constructed on the basis of topicalization. It is possible, for example to show that any of the semantic role relations that a transitive subject can have can be used to identify the relativized noun phrase of an introductory relative clause.
66. Dinanglelan idan dakel ni 'The (many) people who went
OF,made slippery they many NFM before made this trail
slippery.'
tuun limmaw (ida) la eya dalan.
person SF, went they past this trail
67. Kayyaggud hedin wada um-alin 'It would be good if (there
good if there is SF,come is) a teacher who knows
how to teach Algebra will
come.'
mittuduh ni inamtatu
teacher NFM knows,he
mengituttuddun Algebra.
teach
68. Um-ali etan tuun impeamtatu 'A person who will make known
SF,come that person Caus,known,he the new laws of the Govern-
ment will come.'
baluh ni olden ni Gubirnu.
new NFM laws NFM government

In Example 66 the agent is relativized out of an introductory relative clause, in Example 67 the experiencer is relativized and in Example 68 the causer. Relativization of subjects from introductory relative clauses thus works without regard to semantic role relations. To state the rule in terms of semantic role relations is to miss a generalization. It must, however, take account of grammatical relations since only subjects of object focus transitive verbs can be relativized in this way.

It is also possible to show that for primary contrastive relativization the rule takes account of grammatical relations but not of semantic role relations, since there are no restrictions on the latter. Any role that can be the subject of an intransitive verb can be relativized.

69. Nabwel etan detag ni ingkamdug 'The meat that you mixed with
spoiled the meat RM OF, mixed the beans is spoiled.'

mud pukdu.
you, LM beans
70. Lawah elaw etan ni tuum 'The custom/way of the per-
bad custom the NFM person, RM son who envies other
people is bad.'

kaum-ameh edum ni edum tuu.
SF, envies other NFM other person

Any role that can be the object of a transitive verb can be relativized.

71. Nabwel etan detag ni ingkamdug 'The meat that you mixed
spoiled the meat RM OF, mixed with the beans is spoiled.'

mud pukdu.
you, LM beans
72. Imbeng ku etan papil ni 'I threw away the paper
OF, threw I the paper NFM which you removed from
the can.'

ingkal mud lata.
OF, removed you, LM can
73. Inha-ad kud caban etan 'I placed the clothing which
OF, placed I, LM chest the you washed yesterday in the
chest.'

balwasin binalbalan mun
clothing, RM OF, washed you, NFM

kaalman.
yesterday

Thus, to write primary contrastive relativization as a rule based on semantic role relations would be to miss a generalization. The rule must,

however, take account of grammatical relations since only the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb can be relativized in this way.

74. Intu-dak ni gubirnu etan 'The government sent the
OF,sent NFM government the person who asked for the
tax.'
tuun nengibegan buwis.
person,RM asked tax
75. Dinuntuk nan Juan hi Pedro e 'John socked Peter, who
OF,socked NFM John FM Peter RM doesn't like him.'
ag neminhed ni hi-gatu.
not like NFM him
76. Imbunget ama hi Buyyakaw 'Father scolded Buyyakaw,
OF,scolded father FM who had caused him to be
displeased.'
e nengipealmet ni hi-gatu.
RM Caus,displeased NFM him

To write the rules in terms of semantic role relations would be to miss a generalization. The rule must, however, take account of grammatical relations since it can apply only to the subjects of transitive verbs and to nonterms.

Another point also becomes obvious at this juncture. Contrary to what has been claimed for many other Philippine languages (Schachter 1976:500) it is not possible in every instance to claim that the focused item (or in Schachter's terms, topic) is what can be relativized. In introductory relativization the focused item is left within the relative clause and some other, nonfocused constituent is relativized. In secondary contrastive relativization both nonterms (which cannot be in focus) and terms are relativized in the same way, and it is not possible to make any sure statement about the focus status of noun phrases in the underlying structure to which relativization applies. Of all the types of relativization presented here only primary contrastive relativization conforms to the claim that only focused item can be relativized. This, then, for Keley-i constitutes another kind of evidence that grammatical relations such as subject and object cannot be replaced by referential relations such as focused item. It also counts as a counterexample to the claim that in all Philippine languages it is only the focused item of the underlying relative clause that is accessible to relativization. For Keley-i it simply is not the case.

E. Evidence from Keley-i Complementation.

For each of the three varieties of topicalization in Keley-i, there is a corresponding variety of verbal complementation. Consider first the

purpose complement of intransitive verbs of motion. Purpose complements are introduced by the complementizer, ni.

Introductory purpose complementation has an object focus transitive verb. Instead of a deleted shared subject in the complement, the complement clause has a shadow pronoun which is typical for both introductory topicalization and introductory relativization.

77. Manda-guh hak ni nak 'I will stop by to drink his
SF, stop by I Cmp I wine.'
- inumen bubud tu.
OF, drink wine his

Primary contrastive complementation has an intransitive verb (either by derivation with the affix um- applied to an inherently transitive verb or an inherently intransitive verb) and the deleted shared subject is focused upon by the verb of the complement clause.

78. Manda-huh hak ni an-um-inum. 'I will stop by to get a drink.'
SF, stop by I Cmp Pur,SF,drink
79. Manda-guh hak ni man-iyatu. 'I will stop by to rest.'
SF, stop by I Cmp Pur,SF,rest

Primary contrastive topicalization can involve either the subject of an intransitive verb or the object of a transitive verb. Since purpose complementation seeks access only to subjects, there is no parallel to the topicalized object construction so far as purpose complements are concerned.

Secondary contrastive complementation has a transitive verb with non-deleted nonfocused object. The verb has special topic affixation, and the shared subject is coreferentially deleted.

80. Manda-guh hak ni anmengium 'I will stop by to drink his
SF, stop by I Cmp Pur,drink wine.'
- ni bubud tu.
NFM wine his

The informal statement of the rules for complementation has identified the constituent deleted from the various complements as the underlying subject. Could this reference to a grammatical relation be replaced by reference to a referential relation? On our analogy the deleted item is a topic, but it will not do simply to say that the underlying topic is what is deleted under coreference since objects and non-terms can be topicalized as well as subjects and the rules we are concerned with here delete only the subjects of complements.

Reference to focus will not serve to identify the relevant constituent so far as introductory complementation is concerned, since the subject in this instance is only one of several nonfocused constituents that are potentially present in the underlying complement clause. Even where it is the focused item that is deleted under coreference, as in primary complementation, subject is only one of several constituents that can be in focus.

Semantic role relations will do the job, but at greater cost. The deleted subject of an intransitive complement clause can be an agent, as in Example 81, and experiencer as in Example 82.

81. Umlaw wak di wangwang ni 'I will go to the river to
SF,go I LM river Cmp swim.'
anmangkaykay.
SF, swim

82. Umlaw wak ni anman-iskul. 'I will go to learn.'
SF,go I Cmp SF, learn

The deleted subject of a primary contrastive complement clause can be an agent as in Example 83, or an experiencer as in Example 84.

83. Manda-guh hak ni an-um-inum. 'I will stop by to get a drink.'
SF, stop by I Cmp pur,SF,drink

84. Manda-guh hak ni 'I will stop by to look for a
SF,stop by I Cmp grapefruit to get.'

an-um-ang-ang ni elan kun
pur,SF, look cmp get I

lumban.
grapefruit

(Note that the shared subject is deleted as expected in the first complement clause, but in the second complement clause, the subject is explicit.) Thus the rule cannot be written adequately in terms of referential relations and to write it in terms of semantic role relations would be to miss a generalization since the rule applies to verbal subject roles without regard to their semantic role relations.

F. Argument from Keley-i Indirect Object Advancement.

Where referential prominence is to be given to a specific or definite indirect object, the indirect object is made a focused item. In order to do this, however, the indirect object must be advanced to direct object, since only nuclear terms can be placed in focus. The underlying direct object which is replaced by the advanced indirect

object then becomes a chomeur and is marked as a nonfocused item. In Example 88, indirect object advancement has not applied.

88. Indawat nan Juan (hu) 'John gave the book to me.'
 OF, gave NFM John FN

libluh ni hi-gak.
 book NFM me.

In Example 89, indirect object advancement has applied.

89. Indawatan da-ak nan Juan 'John gave me the book.'
 OF, gave he, me NFM John

ni libluh.
 NFM book

The key question with respect to indirect object advancement that we wish to pose here is how the advanced constituent should be referred to. Since the rule itself precedes focus placement we will not want to formulate the rule in terms of focused and nonfocused constituents. Even if we were to do so we would have to distinguish among several possible kinds of nonfocused noun phrases since the rule will not apply to all nonfocused noun phrases. Topicalization is not involved and thus referential relations do not seem to be the relevant means for identifying the constituent that is to be advanced.

The constituent could, of course, be identified in terms of its semantic role relations. An indirect object may be either a beneficiary or an instrument. The indirect object advancement rule, however, applies to both.

90. Intudun Juan Math 'John taught Math to me.'
 OF, taught, NFM John

ni hi-gak.
 NFM me
91. Intuduan tuwak nan Juan 'John taught me Math.'
 OF, taught he, me NFM John

ni Math.
 NFM
92. Bineyuk hu hilin 'I pounded the pepper with
 OF, pounded, I FM pepper Tomasa's pestle.'

la-lun Tomasa.
 pestle, NFM name

93. Imbayuk la-lun 'I pounded with Tomasa's
 OF, pounded, I pestle, NFM pestle.'
- Tomasa di hili.
 name NFM pepper

Example 90 has a beneficiary as an indirect object. In Example 91, that indirect object has been advanced to direct object. In Example 72 the indirect object is an instrument. In Example 73 that indirect object has been advanced to direct object. The rule applies to indirect objects without regard to their semantic role relations. To refer to the advanced constituent in terms of semantic role relations rather than in terms of grammatical relations is to miss a generalization.

G. Argument from Keley-i Passive.

In discourse contexts in which a transitive clause is to be derived as a descriptive clause giving prominence to an object (whether it be an underlying direct object or a direct object that has been advanced from indirect object) and where all referents to the underlying subject is to be suppressed, the passive rule may apply. When the passive rule applies to an underlying transitive clause, the object is advanced to subject position immediately following the verb, the underlying subject is obligatorily deleted, and the verb is marked with the affix from the me- set which is appropriate to its root class. The rule may apply to the structure which underlies Example 94 to produce Example 95.

94. Indawat nan Juan (hu) 'John gave the book to me.'
 OF, gave NFM John FM
- libluh ni hi-gak.
 book NFM me
95. Neidwat libluh ne 'The book was given to me.'
 Pass, gave book NFM
- hi-gak.
 me

The rule may also apply to the indirect object of a sentence that has undergone indirect object advancement. Thus the structure which underlies Example 94 can undergo indirect object advancement yielding Example 96.

96. Indawatan da-ak nan Juan 'John gave me a book.'
 OF, gave he, me NFM John
- ni libluh.
 NFM book

This, in turn, is within the range of the passive rule which can apply to produce 97.

97. Neidwatan nak ni libluh. 'I was given a book.'
Pass, gave I NFM book

The informal statement of the rule has been in terms of grammatical relations. It is difficult to see how the rule could have been described in terms of either focus or topicalization. It could, however, have been stated in terms of semantic role relations. We could have said that the passive rule will delete either an agent, as in 98a or an experiencer, as in 99a.

98. Intudun Juan Math 'John taught Math to us.'
OF, taught, NFM John

ni hi-gami.
NFM us

- 98a. Neituttudu Math ni "Math was taught to us."
Pass, taught NFM

hi-gami.
us

99. Inamtan Bahingawan 'Bahingawan knew what I did.'
OF, knew, NFM name

hu impahding ku.
FM OF, did I

- 99a. Neanta impahding ku. 'What I did was known.'
Pass, known OF, did I

But this would be to miss a generalization since the rule applies to all the subject roles that can occur in a transitive sentence without regard to their semantic role relations.

We could also have said that the passive rule will apply to a conveyed item as in 100, or to a patient as in 101, or to a site as in 102, or to an instrument as in 103, or to a beneficiary as in 104.

100. Inha-ad ku libluh di 'I placed the book on the
OF, placed I book LM table.'

lamesaan.
table

- 100a. Neiha-ad libluh di 'The book was placed on the
Pass, placed book LM table.'

lamesaan.
table

101. Ingkal kum emin 'I removed all of the rice
OF, removed I all from the sack.'

begah di lunay.
rice LM sack.

- 101a. Na-kal emin begah 'All the rice was removed from
Pass, removed all rice the sack.'
- di lunay.
 IM sack
102. Dinahdahan kun emin ubi. 'I peeled all of the sweet
OF, peeled I all sweet potatoes.'
 potato
- 102a. Nedahdahan emin ubi. 'All the sweet potatoes are
Pass, peeled all sweet peeled.'
 potato
103. Imbayuk la-lun 'I pounded with Tomasa's
OF, pounded, I pestle, NFM pestle the pepper.'
- Tomasa.

(A more natural English construction to equate the Keley-i construction when an indirect object - instrument- has been advanced to direct object is the following; I used Tomasa's pestle to pound the pepper.);

- 103a. Neibeyu la-lun 'Tomasa's pestle was used to
Pass, pounded pestle, NFM pound the pepper.'
- Tomasa di hili.
 NFM pepper
104. Intuduan tuwak nan 'John taught me Math.'
OF, taught he, me NFM
- Juan ni Math.
 John NFM
- 104a. Neituduan nak ni Math! 'I was taught Math.'
Pass, taught I NFM

But this would be to miss a generalization since the rule applies to whatever can be a direct object, either inherently or by advancement, and it applies without regard to semantic role relations.

FOOTNOTES

¹The people who speak Keley-i are Ifugao and they distinguish themselves from neighboring groups of Ifugao by means of the geographic

designation, Antipolo Ifugao. For technical linguistic and anthropological purposes we refer to the language as Keley-i Kallahan. The language is spoken by approximately 5000 people in Ifugao Province south of Kiangnan.

²We wish to express our appreciation to our language assistant, Alberto Maddawat, who is a native speaker of Keley-i. His intuitions about the language are in large part responsible for the naturalness of the examples cited.

Also, we want to thank Jerry Morgan who introduced the first author to relational grammar theory and assisted her in her early attempts to apply the theory to Keley-i data.

And finally, our thanks to David Perlmutter, Paul Schachter, and Edward Keenan who sent copies of current papers to help in our research.

³Thomas (this volume) clearly states the terminological problems which exist, and indicates that differences in usage have resulted in a terminological confusion that is more far reaching than is recognized.

⁴Another factor involved in focus assignment in Keley-i is prefocus. We distinguish a prefocus, or a favorite relationship between a verb and a particular noun phrase. The prefocused item for verbs is best identified in terms of grammatical relations since the favorite relationship of intransitive verbs is the subject relation, that of transitive verbs is the object relation. A direct object may have the semantic role of conveyed item, patient or site, and these prefocused semantic roles may be distinguished by the morphology in interrogative, imperative and topicalization constructions. The semantic roles of subject are not distinguished by prefocus. Although semantic relations, and the prefocus of a given verb place constraints on focus assignment, the factor which casts the deciding vote as to which of the eligible noun phrases may undergo focus assignment is one that relates to the referential structure of discourse. For a discussion of prefocus in Blaauw, see Rhee, 1972; for discussion of focus ranking in Tboli, see Porter (this volume).

⁵There are extensive morphophonemic changes in Keley-i. The first author and Michael Kenstowicz described these changes from a generative viewpoint in a paper to appear in Southeast Asian Linguistic Studies.

⁶Of course, we do realize that coreferentiality of the coalesced noun phrase is involved, but this is a separate constraint on the rule.

⁷By arguing for formulating rules in terms of subject and objects we are not denying or dismissing lightly the fact that logical semantics and role relationships place definite and fairly obvious constraints on grammatical rules.

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THE PHONEMES OF SARANGANI SANGIRÉ

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The phonemes of Sarangani Sangiré¹ differ from those of its sister language, Sangihé of Indonesia,² notably with respect to the occurrence in Sangiré but not in Sangihé of consonantal front and back high vocoids. Certain problems in the interpretation of these vocoids will be featured in a separate paper soon to appear. It is the purpose of the present paper to describe more routinely the complete inventory of the Sangiré phonemes. The subject will be considered under the heads (1) contrast between the phonemes, (2) variation within the phonemes, and (3) distribution of the phonemes.

1. Contrast between the phonemes

The contrast between the phonemes is first summarized in the following chart. The horizontal and vertical dimensions of the chart are labelled in terms of distinguishing features rather than of full characterizations of the phonemes.³

Consonants		Labial	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Fricative		b	s	r	h
Stop	Voiceless	p	t	k	q
	Voiced	ɸ	d	g	
Nasal		m	n	ŋ	
Lateral		Non-retroflexed		Retroflexed	
		l		ɭ	
Semi-Vowel		Labial		Palatal	
		w		y	

Vowels	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ɨ	u
Non-High	e	a	o

Stress	ˈ
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The contrast between phonemes is now stated and exemplified for the individual (1) consonants, (2) vowels, and (3) stress placements.

1.1 Consonants

There is contrast with respect to manner of articulation between fricative, stop, nasal and lateral consonants, and semi-vowels. Since some of these phonemes are phonetically similar, such pairs are singled out as follows for illustration of their contrasts. (Note that Sangiré consonants other than ng, q, w and y do not contrast in word-final position simply because they do not occur there; see sec. 3.1. With forms that might otherwise end with these consonants, the replacive -ng and the paragoge -iq are invariably final.)

b and p

'bua 'fruit', 'pua 'k.o. bee'
ma'baesiq 'rainless', ma'paesiq 'discriminating (person)'
saba 'spouse', 'sapa 'refuse'

b and ɓ

bu'aya 'cat's cradle', bu'aya 'crocodile'
laboq 'many, much', 'laboq 'k.o. vegetable'
nika'buiq 'made to spring up (as water)', nika'buiq 'fated'

b and w

'baw 'gong message', 'waw 'eight'
ka'basa 'darkness', ka'wasa 'wealthy person'
ni'aba 'changed weather', ni'awa 'soul'

r and k

'raho 'enunciation', 'kaho 'lice'
su'mare 'pass by', su'make 'embark'
ma'ngiri 'shave', ma'ngiki 'bite'

r and g

'rere 'his neck', 'gere 'tear (as in cloth)'
ma'rabesiq 'fast', ma'gabesiq 'cleared of trees'
nirin'dukang 'affected by hiccups', nigin'dukang 'confirmed'

r and t

'ramuq 'root', 'tamuq 'gnat'
marɛ'ba 'collapsed', matɛ'ba 'abased'
bɛ'raqe 'its weight', bɛ'taqe 'its floor beams'

r and d

'rorang 'hole', 'dorang 'grain bud'
ma'rung 'wet', ma'dung 'bumped (as head against beam)'
'biariq 'life', 'biadiq 'fish roe'

r and l

'rosiq 'bind', 'losiq 'borrow'
ba'erang 'rained in on', ba'elang 'cleared as for farming'
ma'daseriq 'stormy', ma'daseliq 'placed against'

r and ɭ

'raung 'approach', 'laung 'shadow, shelter'
'qurang 'rice straw', 'qulang 'lobster, shrimp'
'barisq 'salt fish', 'balisq 'line up'

r and y

'dara 'blood', 'daya 'landward area'
'soroq 'move backward', 'soyoq 'guide through (opening)'
ma'ngaro 'scratch', ma'ngayo 'assault'

d and l

'datu 'chieftan', 'latu 'ant'
pɛ'di 'break (as in stick)', pɛ'li 'taboo'
'tuidiq 'stump', 'tuiliq 'brace'

d and ɭ

'daiq 'bad', 'laiq 'very bad'
'bade 'its payment', 'bale 'house'
maka'bude 'make mountainous', maka'bule 'forget'

There is further contrast with respect to manner of articulation between voiceless and voiced stops.

p and b

'puang 'fitted with handle', 'buang 'fight (as cocks)'
'kapang 'fishtrap', 'kabang 'scar'
'qampang 'block with the body', 'qambang 'rescue'

t and d

'tingiriq 'speak', 'dingiriq 'hear'
 bi'taqe 'its floor beams', bi'daqe 'its valley'
 pan'tang 'porch', pan'dang 'thing watched'

k and g

'kang 'food, rice', 'gang 'brass'
 bi'ka 'break (as clay pot)', bi'ga 'be ignorant of'
 'tunggitiq 'only child', 'tungkiq 'brace'

Fricatives and voiceless stops contrast at the labial, alveolar, velar and glottal points of articulation. None of these phonemes are phonetically similar, so normally their contrasts would need no illustration. However, certain of these contrasts are illustrated here because suspect on the grounds of the common derivation of the phonemes historically.

r and h

ra'misang 'massaged', ha'misang 'become Thursday'
 ka'rong 'scratched (as itch)', ka'hong 'infested by lice'
 'moroq 'ebb', 'mohoq 'chant'

k and q

'kapuq 'vine', 'qapuq 'lime'
 'qutuki' 'your brains', 'qutuqu 'your torch'
 'bauke 'carry pickaback now', 'baugé 'sell now'

Voiced stops and nasals contrast at the labial, alveolar and velar points of articulation. The laterals contrast with respect to non-retroflexed and retroflexed articulation. The semi-vowels contrast at labial and palatal points of articulation.

n and ng

mani'taq 'begin', mangi'taq 'winnow'
 'lano 'lake', 'lango 'housefly'
 li'manu 'your hand', li'mangu 'new or full moon'

l and ɭ

'latu 'ant', 'latu 'chieftan higher than datu'
 'sili 'defer to', 'sili 'separate out unhulled grain'
 'qaling 'clairvoyant', 'qaling 'transfer'

1.2 Vowels

Vowels contrast with respect to high and non-high tongue positions.

i and e

'qi 'this one', 'qe 'that one'
 'sindaq 'breathe', 'sendaq 'wax (of moon)'
 'qaling 'transfer', 'qaleng 'name'

i and a

pi'diang 'thing broken off', pa'diang 'market'
ma'nabo 'fall', ma'nabo 'fallen'
rabiq 'sharpen', rsbaq 'wrestle'

u and o

'quay 'rattan', 'qosy 'stake for securing boat'
pung 'base (as of tree)', 'pong 'northwest wind'
si'baqku 'my chest', si'baqko 'surely the chest'

Vowels further contrast with respect to front, central and back tongue positions.

i and i

'qi 'this one', 'qi 'yes'
ni'labong 'be coiled around', ni'labong 'coil around'
miq'tikiq 'lie down', miq'tikiq 'endure'

i and u

mi'nala 'mark limit of', mu'nala 'work'
bi'bang 'shoulder', bu'bang 'pump'
kinsiq 'pity', 'kineuq 'k.o. star'

e and a

'qekeq 'fishhook', 'qakeq 'fresh water'
dalenq 'walk', 'dalang 'dry over fire'
bi'ke 'narrate', bi'ka 'break'

a and o

'qanaq 'offspring', 'qonaq 'fish scales'
tongkaq 'roast', 'tangkaq 'stilt'
lana 'oil', lano 'lake'

1.3 Stress Placement

Word stress is phonemic only by virtue of a small class of stems in which stress is unpredictable. In the majority of words, however, stress occurs on the penult or, in the case of words with the paragoge -iq, on the antepenult, unless the vowel in those syllables is the high central i. Where i does occur, stress placement moves in the progressive direction except in words where there is no vowel but i, in which case, again, the placement of stress is quite unpredictable. For other words,

although recourse to the grammar would reveal regular stress movement rules, stress placement purely in terms of the phonology itself is often arbitrary.

'lebang 'pry', le'bang 'licked at'
'kapang 'fishtrap', ka'pang 'group (of animals, etc.)'
'kapu 'rub', ka'pu 'desire, want'

2. Variation within the Phonemes

Although articulatory variation has not been observed in all of the phonemes, for the sake of completeness all phonemes are listed here including those with but a single allophone. Again, the discussion deals separately with (1) consonants, (2) vowels, and (3) stress.

2.1 Consonants

In contrast to the vowels, variations characterizing the consonants are relatively few, though diverse in type.

- b [b] Voiced bilabial fricative non-vocoid with lenis articulation. Occurs before the high central vowel in sequences immediately preceding a stressed vowel (e.g. [bə'adĩq] bə'adĩq 'sea wave').
- [b] Voiced bilabial fricative non-vocoid, occurs elsewhere (e.g. ['baba] 'baba 'down').
- s [s] Voiceless alveolar grooved fricative non-vocoid (e.g. ['sasiq] 'sasiq 'sea water').
- r [ʀ] Voiced alveolar flapped non-vocoid. Occurs in all positions of the phoneme (e.g. ['ʀaʀudĩq] 'rarudĩq 'hoarse').
- [ʀ^(g)] Voiced alveolar flapped non-vocoid with velar friction. Occurs in all positions in free variation with the allophone [ʀ] of this same phoneme, being the more frequent (e.g. ['ʀ^(g)aʀ^(g)udĩq] 'rarudĩq 'hoarse').
- h [h] Voiceless glottal fricative non-vocoid (e.g. ['qahu] 'qahu 'adopted child').
- p [p] Voiceless bilabial stop non-vocoid (e.g. ['pipiq] 'pipiq 'cheek').
- t [t] Voiceless alveolar stop non-vocoid (e.g. [ta'ʀ^(g)iti] ta'riti 'rain').
- k [k] Voiceless back velar stop non-vocoid. Occurs immediately following glottal stop (e.g. ['qipuqku] 'qipuqku 'my knife').

- [k] Voiceless velar stop non-vocoid. Occurs elsewhere (e.g. [ka'f(ə)aka] ka'raka 'crab').
- q [q] Voiceless glottal stop non-vocoid (e.g. [qutaq] qutaq 'hair').
- b [b] Voiced bilabial stop non-vocoid. Occurs in all positions of the phoneme (e.g. [bebeq] bebeq 'duck'). In word-initial position before the sequence vowel plus bilabial fricative (-Vb), occurs in free variation with the allophone [β] of the phoneme b (e.g. ['bubur(β)iq] ~ ['bubur(β)iq] buburiq 'kapok').
- d [d] Voiced alveolar stop non-vocoid. Occurs in all positions of the phoneme (e.g. [daɬen'dung] daɬn'dung 'wall').
- [dʒ] Voiced alveo-palatal affricated non-vocoid. Occurs in free variation with the sequence voiced alveolar stop plus either high front syllabic vocoid or high front non-syllabic vocoid (di/y) (e.g. [di'aw], ['dyaw] ~ ['dʒaw] di'aw 'tomorrow').
- g [g] Voiced velar stop non-vocoid (e.g. [maka'gag] maka'gaga 'accomplish').
- m [m:] Voiced bilabial lengthened nasal non-vocoid. Occurs intervocalically following i (e.g. [mə'm:ama] mɪ'mama 'chew betel').
- [m] Voiced bilabial nasal non-vocoid. Occurs elsewhere (e.g. [ma'momo] ma'momo 'dull, blunt').
- n [n:] Voiced alveolar lengthened nasal non-vocoid. Occurs intervocalically following i (e.g. [tə'n:iq] tɪ'niq 'mosquito').
- [n] Voiced alveolar nasal non-vocoid. Occurs elsewhere (e.g. [ni'f(ə)ino] ni'rino 'correct').
- ng [ng:] Voiced velar lengthened nasal non-vocoid. Occurs intervocalically following i and a (e.g. [dang:eng] dangeng 'move up into').
- [ŋ] Voiced velar nasal non-vocoid. Occurs elsewhere (e.g. [kūŋ'kung] kūŋ'kung 'fist').
- l [l:] Voiced alveolar lengthened lateral non-vocoid. Occurs intervocalically following i (e.g. [mɛl:əl:osiq] mɛlɪ'losiq 'borrow').
- [l] Voiced alveolar lateral non-vocoid. Occurs elsewhere (e.g. [le'leng] le'leng 'weeded').
- l⁵ [ɭ] Voiced retroflexed flapped lateral non-vocoid. Occurs immediately following low central and back vowels. (e.g. [da'ɭuɿang] da'ɭuɿang 'cargo').
- [ɭ̥] Voiced retroflexed flapped lateral non-vocoid with retroflexed mid central non-syllabic vocoid on-glide. Occurs elsewhere (e.g. [ɭ̥ɪɪiq] ɭ̥ɪɪiq 'clear field').

- w [w] Voiced high close back unrounded non-syllabic vocoid. Occurs in all positions of the phoneme (e.g. ['waw] 'waw 'eight'). In open unstressed non-final syllables immediately following either a low vowel or a labial or alveolar stop or nasal, occurs in free variation with allophones of the phoneme u (e.g. ['laudiq] ~ ['lawdiq] 'laudiq 'ocean', [banu'ane] ~ [ban'wane] banu'ane 'his place').
- y [y] Voiced high close front unrounded non-syllabic vocoid. Occurs in all positions of the phoneme (e.g. 'kayang 'kayang 'swim'). In open unstressed non-final syllables immediately following either a low vowel or an alveolar stop or nasal, occurs in free variation with allophones of the phonemes i (e.g. [ma'gatsiq] ~ [ma'gaysiq] ma'gaisiq 'slashed', [mani'ataq] ~ [man'yataq] mani'ataq 'visit').

2.2 Vowels

Each vowel has at least two variants which differ from each other typically with respect to degree of closure or height of the tongue.

- i [i] Voiced high open front unrounded syllabic vocoid. Occurs either (1) in syllables closed with a nasal except those both stressed and word-final, or (2) in open unstressed syllables, immediately preceded by a low vowel and followed by a consonant (e.g. ['sinsing] 'sinsing 'ring', [ma'paiq] ma'paiq 'bitter').
- [i] Voiced high close front unrounded syllabic vocoid. Occurs elsewhere (e.g. [f(ɛ) aɪ(ɛ) i'ping] rari'ping 'boat transom', [ma'didiq] ma'didiq 'yellow'). In word-final position immediately following the low vowel a, occurs in free variation with the phoneme y (e.g. ['pay] ~ ['pai] 'pay 'over there').
- e [e] Voiced mid open front unrounded vocoid. Occurs either (1) in syllables closed with a nasal except those both stressed and word-final, or (2) unstressed immediately preceded by a low vowel and followed by a consonant (e.g. [lalen'teng] lalen'teng 'bridge', ['gaɪiɪq] 'gaɪiɪq 'instead').
- [e] Voiced mid close front unrounded vocoid. Occurs elsewhere (e.g. ['qeseq] 'qeseq 'male').
- ɪ [ɪ] Voiced mid central syllabic component of syllabic nasal non-vocoid. Occurs with any nasal word-initially immediately preceding a stop consonant (e.g. [ɪ'daiq] in'daiq 'there').
- [ɪ] Voiced high open back unrounded vocoid. Occurs other than word-initially immediately preceding glottal or velar consonants (e.g. [miqɪ'biɪq] miqɪ'biɪq 'work').

- [ɨ] Voiced high close central unrounded vocoid. Occurs elsewhere (e.g. [mɨl:ɨm'bay] mɨlɨm'bay 'leave remnant').
- [ə] Voiced mid close central unrounded syllabic vocoid. In syllables preceding the stressed syllable and in some other environments, occurs in free variation with allophones of the same phoneme, being very frequent except in slow or deliberate speech (e.g. [mɨl:əm'bay] mɨlɨm'bay 'leave remnant').
- a [a] Voiced low open central unrounded vocoid. Occurs in all positions of the phoneme (e.g. [mɨqtatɨn'tang] mɨqtatɨn'tang 'different').
- [ə] Voiced mid close central unrounded syllabic vocoid. In syllables preceding the stressed syllable, occurs in free variation with the allophone a of this same phoneme, being very frequent except in slow or deliberate speech (e.g. [mɨtɨtɨn'tang] mɨqtatɨn'tang 'different').
- [ɯ] Voiced fronted high open back rounded vocoid. Occurs in syllables closed with a nasal preceding the stressed syllable (e.g. [mang:ɯm'pitay] mangum'pitay 'firefly').
- [u] Voiced high open back rounded vocoid. Occurs immediately following a low vowel either (1) in stressed syllables immediately preceding the retroflexed lateral, or (2) in open unstressed syllables immediately preceding any consonant (e.g. [mama'ulɨq] mama'ulɨq 'tell', [mɨ'n:ausɨq] mɨ'nausɨq 'proceed').
- [u] Voiced high close back rounded syllabic vocoid. Occurs elsewhere (e.g. [ma'gukung] ma'gukung 'converse'). In word-final position immediately following the low vowel a, occurs in free variation with the phoneme ɯ (e.g. ['waw] ~ ['wau] waw 'eight').
- o [ɯ] Voiced high open back rounded vocoid. Occurs in unstressed syllables immediately following a high vocoid (e.g. [ba'hɨ] ba'hɨ 'gale', ['sayu] sayu 'k.o. tree').
- [o] Voiced mid close back rounded vocoid. Occurs elsewhere (e.g. [mɨ'ng:onggoq] mɨ'ngonggoq 'give').

2.3 Stress

Stress and high pitch in Sangiré words are observed to be allophones of the same phoneme. The treatment here is limited to primary word stress due to the need for further study of secondary stress.

- _['(C)V] Stress. Occurs on any one syllable back to the antepenult, normally excepting those syllables with ɨ but occurring on any of them but the paragoge when they contain no vowel other than ɨ (e.g. [ka'pantagɨq] ka'pantagɨq 'use, purpose', ['batu] batu 'stone', [tɨ'aq] tɨ'aq 'fly', [ma'kɨgɨng] ma'kɨgɨng 'dried', [malɨ'gɨng] malɨ'gɨng 'sad').

- [$\tilde{v}$] High pitch. Occurs either simultaneous to or in free variation with stress (e.g. [$\tilde{b}atu$]-[$\tilde{b}atu$]-[$\tilde{b}atu$] $\tilde{b}atu$ 'stone').

3. Distribution of the Phonemes

The distribution of the phonemes may be summarized by reference to the syllable patterning of consonants and vowels. In this summary, "consonants" (C) and "vowels" (V) are each viewed as hyperclasses in anticipation of their subclassification in the description to follow.

A phonemic syllable (S) consists of a single vowel optionally preceded and/or followed by a consonant ($S = +C +V +C$). The resulting four syllable patterns are illustrated as follows in their estimated order of frequency, and in all word positions.

CV	're 'field grass', bi.'sa.la 'conversation', 'qa.bu 'ashes'
CVC	'boq 'after', ma.'sing.kan 'know', 'qun.dang 'medicine'
VC	in.'diq 'perhaps', 'je.ang.ke 'must spear', qi.'aq 'I'
V	'i.qi 'yes', si.'a.eng 'seashore', 'bo.a 'grey'

The arrangement of the syllables in sequences is limited only by the non-occurrence of types VC and V either in isolation or following a closed syllable.

The distribution of the phonemes may now be detailed, the phonemes being considered with respect to their systemic or paradigmatic relations, and then their structural or syntagmatic relations. These relations are now discussed under the alternative designations respectively of (1) phoneme classification, and (2) sequence limitations.

3.1 Phoneme Classification

The distribution of the phonemes is described here in terms of phoneme classes posited on the basis of their common positions in the phonological word. As implied in the section introduction, however, the syllable also is highly pertinent to phoneme distribution. It is therefore necessary to present the classes in relation to the syllable types as these occur in each of the three significant sectors of the word: word-initial, word-medial, and word-final.⁹

The classification is depicted by the following chart, in which the horizontal dimension represents the word sectors and the syllable positions therein, and the vertical dimension represents the different syllable types. Boxes are filled by phoneme classes, the membership of which is given below the chart. Diagonal lines in certain boxes indicate the non-occurrence of phonemes in the syllable position thus marked. Illustrations are provided following the chart.

Chart 2: Phoneme Classification

Syllable Type	Word Position								
	Initial Syllable			Medial Syllable(s)			Final Syllable		
	Initial Consonant	Vowel	Final Consonant	Initial Consonant	Vowel	Final Consonant	Initial Consonant	Vowel	Final Consonant
CV	Class C-1	Class V-1	/	Class C-1		/	Class C-1	Class V-3	/
CVC			Class C-2		Class V-1	Class C-2		Class V-1	Class C-4
VC	/	Class V-2	Class C-3	/			/	Class V-3	
V	/		/	/		/	/		/

Class Membership:

C-1	C-2	C-3	C-4	V-1	V-2	V-3
ng	ng	ng	ng	ɪ	ɪ	
m	m	m		i		i
n	n	n		e		e
q	q		q	a		a
w			w	u		u
y			y	o		o
b						
s						
r						
h						
p						
t						
k						
b						
d						
g						
l						
ɭ						

Illustrations:

Word-Initial Syllables

- C_1V_1 'bi.la 'if', ma.'di 'dislike, refuse'
 $C_1V_1C_2$ 'qing.ka.qu 'it's up to you', miq.ki.'nang 'test'
 V_2C_3 im.'be.liq.ko 'must hold it', in.'da.ung 'here you are'
 V_2 i.'nge.aw 'meow', 'i.qi 'yes'¹⁰

Word-Medial Syllables

- C_1V_1 ka.ki.'di.te.te 'disregard it', seng.'go.tang 'sailed'
 $C_1V_1C_2$ ku.'mang.ke 'eat now', ma.nging.'ga.rig 'summon'
 V_1C_2 'na.ung.ku 'my "heart"', ma.'am.bang 'rescued'
 V_1 ka.'i.ri 'left', ko.'a.neng 'right'

Word-Final Syllables

- C_1V_3 'qa.pa 'what?', 'tang.ko 'must run'¹¹
 $C_1V_1C_4$ 'qon.deq 'Little Fellow', 'na.ung '(past tense particle)'
 V_3C_4 sim.'ba.uq 'one', ma.ki.ti.'ang 'take leave'
 V_3 ta.'ta.u 'three', tin.ti.'ro.i 'let it be taught'

3.2 Sequence Limitations

The limitations on the co-occurrence of phonemes in sequence are to be taken together with the preceding classification as a refinement of the distributional statement. These limitations are comprehended by constraints concerning (1) consonant sequences, (2) vowel sequences, and (3) consonant-vowel sequences.

3.2.1 Consonant Sequences

Consonants are limited in their occurrence with contiguous consonants in that doubling does not occur and, of the consonants which do occur in cluster, the nasals and glottal stop never follow the other consonants and only precede the other consonants where they are of certain points of articulation with respect to those consonants.

- a. m precedes only the labial stops p and b (e.g. 'rampediq 'flavor', ma'namba 'increase').
- b. n precedes only the alveolar stops and fricative t, d and s (e.g. min'tiq 'only', 'pende 'coconut shell', 'qensoq 'move').
- c. ng precedes only the velar stops k and g (e.g. ma'songkariq 'aggravated', sing'gaq 'some').
- d. q precedes only the alveolar and velar stops t, d, k and g (e.g.

miqti'pala 'spear fish', miqdiq'dolong 'be begging', 'balaqku
'my bolo', miq'gaq 'separate (on trail)').¹²

Consonants are limited in their occurrence with non-contiguous consonants in that the laterals l and l never follow r, and dissimilar laterals do not co-occur (e.g. la'lusaq 'food turner', lali'ngala 'look up').

3.22 Vowel Sequences

Vowels are limited in their occurrence with dissimilar contiguous vowels only in that i and e have not been found either to precede or follow i (e.g. 'sie 'he/she', 'piaq 'have', 'tiuq 'blow', ka'tioq 'small', pa'tei 'let it be killed', ta'beaq 'by your leave', 'reo 'cry', bi'aq 'middle', di'uq 'thunder', gi'ohung 'reverberation', ba'ine 'other', sa'kaeng 'boat', maki'paiz 'thick', 'bauq '(classifier)', paga'ongang 'glass', 'duiq 'raise', ba'kueq 'belch', 'buiq 'spring', 'pua 'k.o. bee', ma'pu 'ten', ta'roi 'let it be put into', 'loq 'pry', si'koiz 'cough', 'boa 'grey', po'udaq 'k.o. root crop').¹³

3.23 Consonant-Vowel Sequences

Semi-vowel consonants are limited in their occurrence with contiguous vowels in the following respects.

- a. w is preceded and/or followed only by a (e.g. 'wa 'termite', la'wati 'roundworm', mi'buaw 'quarrel').
- b. y is preceded and/or followed only by a, u and o (e.g. 'yakang 'eldest sibling', 'taya 'no', 'payung 'umbrella', 'dayo 'praise', 'soyo 'lamp', 'yutaq 'innumerable', 'buyang 'fan', 'puyung 'grand-child', 'buay 'change (behavior)').

FOOTNOTES

¹The Sangiré are an Islamic people residing in coastal areas of southern Cotabato and Davao Provinces, Republic of the Philippines. The largest community is said to be at Tugis in the municipality of Kiamba, Cotabato, where considerable mixture with the Magindanao is reported. The Sangiré are also found on lower Sarangani Peninsula and on the Sarangani Islands, where Balut Island has probably the second largest concentration of these people. Exact population figures are unavailable but a reasonable estimate would place the total number of Sangiré between 5 and 10 thousand.

The dialect of Sangiré indigenous to the Sarangani Islands differs somewhat from that spoken on the Mindanao mainland. With only occasional references to the latter, the following description is limited to the island dialect which is herein designated Sarangani Sangiré. Research for this study was done by the author and his wife Alice Maryott on Balut Island in 1964, mainly, under the auspices of the Summer Institute

of Linguistics. It was for the files of this institute that the present paper was prepared around 1967.

2. Compare H. Adriani, Sangireesche Spraakkunst (Leiden, 1893), pp 8-19; also my "The Phonology and Morphophonemics of Tabukang Sangir [nee Sangihé]", Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review 26:111-126 (1963).

The Sangiré, when referring to both themselves and the Sangihé, distinguish their own group as the Sangiré Pilipinasé as opposed to the Sangiré Indonesia. These Indonesians are also referred to as the Mallolle after the nearest of the islands from which they originated. The Philippine Sangiré are also known by the name "Sangil", undoubtedly a modification of the indigenous name by other Philippine peoples.

3. The alveolar flap r has been placed among the fricatives because of the marked fricative quality which most often characterizes this sound; see sec. 2.1.

In the chart and throughout the paper, italics indicate phonemic notation and square brackets, phonetic notation. In the few instances where it is used, the practical orthography substitutes ll for l and é for i, as in the names Sangiré and Mallolle. For all three notations, the diagraph ng represents the voiced velar nasal consonant, and the rest of the symbols used have the values generally recognized for those symbols. Syllable breaks, where relevant to the discussion, are indicated by periods.

4. This fact seems to provide additional evidence for some kind of integration of morphological with phonological rules, as for example in the stratificational or the transformational-generative approaches. Neo-Bloomfieldians such as Kenneth L. Pike have not been unaware of this kind of problem (see Pike's "Grammatical Pre-requisites" articles), but they provide little apparatus in models like Tagmemics to deal with the matter on a practical level.

A reference here to the morphology of Sangiré, however, and even beyond to a comparison of the cognate terms in Sangihé can shed much light on the stress patterns before us. In the case of le'bang, the stem 'leba has the expected penult stress. However, when such stems ending with a non-high vowel are suffixed with the morpheme <-ang> 'objective voice, objective orientation' ("goal" or "referent focus" in some Philippine languages), the allomorph -ng occurs and stress moves one syllable, as it happens, to the ultima. But in Sangihé, the corresponding allomorph is -ing. Therefore, when a Sangihé stem occurs with this affix, though stress progresses one syllable as in Sangiré, it is again the penult which is stressed since the suffix itself is a syllable (Sh 'leba + <-ang> -> le'baing 'licked at'). The loss of the Sangihé i in Sangiré cognates is normal in this and other positions.

The form ka'pang is explained in a similar way except that -ng is now a part of the root rather than a separate morpheme (the segment is

probably a frozen or non-productive morph etymologically derived from a proto-form of the suffix <-ang>. Again, it is enlightening to compare the Sangihé cognate, viz. Sh ga'paing 'group, flock'. Note that this form too has penult stress.

The third instance of non-penultimate stress is ka'pu, the Sangihé cognate of which is Sh ka'pulu 'desire'. It will be noted that there has been inter-dialectal loss of the Sangihé lateral, the vowels then coalescing and stress thereby being forced to occur on the final syllable.

5. This phoneme does not occur in the Mindanao dialect of Sangiré. In Mindanao cognates the corresponding phoneme is the flap r, which also represents the Sarangani r.

6. Determining the allophonic variation of vowels are such additional factors as position with respect to stressed syllable, syllable type (open or closed), articulation of contiguous consonants, speech rate, and perhaps vowel harmony. Further study would undoubtedly reveal a ranking among these environmental factors that might be more conveniently described in sets of ordered rules.

7. Compare allophone [ə] of the phoneme i. This neutralization of the phonemes i and a is reminiscent of the phenomenon described by Richard Elkins, "Partial Loss of Contrast between a and e in Western Bukidnon Manobo" (*Lingua* 12:205-210 (1963)). In both Sangiré and Manobo, the feature is probably related to shortness of vowel caused by either closed syllables or pre-stress position (Elkins: preceding an "intonation peak"), and also to vowel harmony. However, in Manobo the feature properly belongs to the phonemics since in the "certain limited environments" in which contrast is lost, the loss is not dependent--as it is in Sangiré--on phonetic factors such as speech rate.

8. Pitch is subject to modification by intonation patterns in such a way that a raised pitch on a stressed syllable may be neutralized and a final low-pitched syllable may correspondingly raise. The phenomenon is particularly noticeable in the case of emphasized phrase-final enclitics. Another prominent intonational feature is the marked lengthening of the stressed and/or high pitched syllable during intense or expressive speech.

9. Obviously excluded from this classification are such non-assimilated borrowings as 'wakt' 'time' (Ara'ic via Magindanao?) and ari'pino (Visayan).

10. Additional instances of syllable type V in word-initial position are lacking in the data of the Sarangani (S) dialect. The present analysis, however, is supported by abundant examples from the Mindanao (M) dialect (e.g. M i'luq (S 'luq) 'swallow', M i'rabiq (S 'rabiq)

'sharpen (as stake)', M i'baq (S 'baq) 'hull by pounding (as rice)').

11. An irregular word-final occurrence of the high central vowel has been observed in the words 'q*ɨ*, 'i*qɨ* 'yes' and b*ɨ*'g*ɨ* 'what a pity'.

12. Informants differ somewhat with respect to the particular consonants before which glottal stop is articulated. The present analysis is liberal enough, but some informants have been heard to produce glottal also before labial stops, p and b.

13. The lack of an example in the data for the vowel sequence eu is considered accidental and not suggestive of a co-occurrence constraint.

In addition to the above clustering of dissimilar vowels, i and a have been observed to double through morphophonemic processes (e.g. ni'ikiq 'tied', makaali'katiq 'become ready').

REDUPLICATION AND CYCLICAL RULE ORDERING

IN KANKANAHEY MORPHOPHONEMICS

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- O. Introduction
- I. Description of Rules
- II. Sample Derivations
- III. Conclusion

O. INTRODUCTION

For some time there has existed a need on the Philippine linguistics scene for a description which adequately accounts for the interaction of reduplication with morphophonemic rules. That such a description does not presently exist may be due to the general tendency among linguists to describe language in terms of separate categories, such as phonology, semantics, and syntax, morphophonemics falling under the former category, reduplication under one or both of the latter. Some degree of compartmentalization is, of course, necessary in order to separate the data being analyzed into manageable chunks, but it is clear that for Kankanaey¹ (and, I suspect, a number of other Philippine languages), an analysis of the morphophonemic system which fails to take into account the role of reduplication deprives the analyst of valuable insights into the functioning of the system as a whole.

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that cyclical ordered rules provide a viable means of describing the relationship between reduplication and morphophonemic processes in Kankanaey.² It is not my intention at this time to discuss in any detail the theoretical implications of individual rules, nor even to argue in general terms for the superiority of cyclical rules over other types of phonological rule ordering, as I am deliberately reserving all such argumentation for a future, more thorough treatment of the subject. This paper, accordingly, should be regarded merely as the bare bones of a description which I trust will be fleshed out in the near future. It is presented now only in the hope that it will provide useful insights to linguists working with other Philippine languages.

For purposes of this discussion, we will designate three categories of rules - spelling rules, morphophonemic or cyclical rules, and phonological or post-cyclical rules. Spelling rules are those which produce the basic underlying forms upon which the other rules operate, and may

be divided into early and late spelling rules. The early rules are ordered immediately preceding the rule cycle and include affixation and what we will call root reduplication. The late rule is what we will call stem reduplication and applies following the rule cycle. Forms which undergo this rule are automatically directed back to the beginning of the cycle.

It may be helpful at this point to define some of the characteristics of root and stem reduplication with the understanding that these are merely temporary labels attached for the sake of convenience. Root reduplication seems to be morphologically motivated, as it is sensitive to morpheme boundaries. That is, in reduplication involving a prefixed or infix root, only the root is reduplicated; the affix is not affected. Stem reduplication, on the other hand, seems to be more phonologically motivated (although it does carry lexical content), inasmuch as it crosses morpheme boundaries, affecting both affix and root. An example of a root which can be spelled with either type of reduplication is *ʔe'dep* 'to extinguish'. When it is spelled with the stative prefix *ma-* and CVC root reduplication, the rule output is *maʔedʔe'dep* 'to keep being extinguished'. Given the same prefix but CVC stem reduplication, the rule output is *madmadʔen* 'being extinguished'. In the first case, reduplication applies to the root before other morphophonemic rules. In the second case, the root undergoes both vowel syncope and glottal metathesis before reduplication applies. This confirms the hypothesis that Kankanaey has two distinct types of reduplication, one of which is spelled early, the other late. It is also clear from the above example that reduplication carries lexical meaning.

This raises a question that would provide interesting material for a future discussion, namely, whether it would be legitimate to distinguish the early and late reduplication spelling rules in Kankanaey as morphological and phonological. Does current theory allow a phonological process to be responsive to lexical entities?

To return to the other types of rules, the morphophonemic or cyclical rules are those rules which apply after any spelling rule. Most of them are quite limited in application, as their structural descriptions can be met only by forms spelled with certain affixes. There are no restrictions against rules applying more than once in succeeding cycles, but at the same time, neither does any derivation actually require a rule to apply more than once.

The only phonological rule, gemination, is ordered following the late spelling rule, and thus cannot apply to a form until after the cyclical rules have applied. Gemination is being designated a phonological rule, because its structural description, with only one exception (see rule 12), is not limited by morphological considerations.

I. DESCRIPTION OF RULES

In the discussion of individual rules which follows, use will be made of the notion of rule bleeding and feeding as developed by Kiparsky (1968), Anderson (1974), and others. If rule A alters a form in such a way that it can undergo rule B, then rule A is said to feed rule B. If rule A, however, applies to a form which would otherwise undergo rule B and alters it in such a way that it no longer meets the structural description of rule B, then rule A is said to bleed rule B. Rules which are neutral in respect to feeding and bleeding and which occur at the same point in the derivational cycle are assigned the same number in the linear order.

Feature abbreviations used in the rule statements are given in footnote #1. Other symbols and abbreviations are as follows: C - consonant, V - vowel, Ø - null or zero, # - word boundary, & - morpheme boundary, . - syllable boundary, opt - optional, + will be used in place of the Greek letter alpha to indicate that a segment has the same feature value as that indicated by + for some other segment in the rule. For instance, in rule 3, +ac indicates that if the segment to the right of the arrow is -acute, the segment to the right of the slash mark will also be -acute.

All examples are written phonemically, using the phonemes listed in footnote 1, except that velar nasal is written as a digraph, ng.

A distinction is made in the rules between stem and root, so a stem is hereby defined as an affixed root.

1A. Affixation.

Directly or indirectly, all cyclical rules are fed by affixation, different affixes, of course, feeding different rules. CV prefixes feed cyclical rules 2A and 4 and the post-cyclical gemination rule, suffixes feed 2A and 2B, mang- feeds 3, -inom- feeds 5A and 6, ?ini- feeds 5B, -om- feeds 6, and -?- feeds 9.

1B. Root Reduplication.

Of the three types of root reduplication in Kankanaey (initial CV, CVC and CVC(C)V), the latter two are neutral with respect to feeding and bleeding. The former feeds only the gemination rule. 'siyek + ka- + CV → kassi'siyek.

2A. Stress Shift.

Stress regularly shifts one syllable to the right upon inflectional suffixation³ of roots other than the following: CV(C), CVC.CV, CVC.CVC (where V₂ is not e), and CVC.CVC.CVC; and shifts one syllable to the left upon prefixation of one-syllable stative roots with ma-, na-, or ka-. If, however, the above prefixation occurs in combination with suffixation, stress remains on the root.⁴ In the following examples, a gloss is provided only where necessary to distinguish between stative

and other roots. kol'kol + -an → kol'kolan, bed'bed + -an → bedbe'dan, ʔag'to + -en → ʔag'toen, sak'pipi + -en → sakpi'pi'en, da'o + -en → da'o'en, ʔe'dad + -en → ʔedda'den, ʔod + -en → ʔoden, ʔom + ma- → ma'ʔom 'to be ripe', kay + ma- → 'makay 'to be old', dan + ma- → ma'dan 'to walk', ʔom + ma-...-an → ma'ʔoman.

I was very interested in Schane's description of preferred syllable structure rules (Schane, p. 207-209), and made some cursory attempts to discover if there were general rules governing stress placement in Kankanaey that would account for stress shift being blocked in words having the above four syllable structures. Thus far I have been unsuccessful, but the following general restraints relating to stress may be noted: a) Although stress does occur on the antepenultimate syllable of a few unaffixable roots, affixable roots permit stress on one of the last two syllables only. Thus, stress shift is obligatory for forms such as sak'pipi above in order to keep stress on one of the last two syllables. b) Stress may not occur prior to a root-medial consonant-glottal cluster. Thus, when forms such as bad'bado 'clothes' are infixed with glottal, stress shifts so as to follow the dʔ cluster. badbad'ʔo.

2B Glottal Insertion.

$\emptyset \rightarrow ? / V\_\_V$.

Upon suffixation of vowel-final roots, glottal is inserted between the final vowel of the root and the suffix vowel. ʔa'ba + -en → ʔaba'ʔen.

For the sake of argument, it could be asserted that the underlying suffixes are -ʔen and -ʔan rather than -en and -an and that glottal is deleted upon suffixation of consonant-final roots. ʔabot + -ʔen → ʔa'boten. Such a rule, however, would have little internal motivation, because forms such as *ʔa'botʔen would not in fact violate Kankanaey syllable structure rules, and there is thus no reason why glottal should be deleted. The glottal insertion rule, on the other hand, is highly motivated, because syllable structure rules prohibit vowel clusters.

3. Assimilation and Reduction.

a.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +nas \\ +bk \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} +ac \\ +bk \end{bmatrix} \right\} / \_\_ \& \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} +or \\ -con \\ +ac \\ +bk \\ +sib \end{bmatrix} \right\}$$

$$\left\{ \begin{bmatrix} -syl \\ +con \\ -sib \end{bmatrix} \right\}$$

b. $\left\{ \begin{bmatrix} -con \\ +sib \end{bmatrix} \right\} \rightarrow \emptyset / [+nas]\_\_$

When CVng- (mang-, nang-, pang-) is prefixed to a root with initial oral stop or sibilant, a) the final nasal of the prefix assimilates to the point of articulation of the initial consonant of the root, and b) that consonant is subsequently reduced. When the root-initial consonant is glottal, assimilation does not occur, but glottal is reduced. When the root-initial consonant is a non-sibilant, non-syllabic continuant (m, n, ng, l, w, y), the final nasal of the prefix becomes +acute, but no reduction occurs. 'ʔanop + mang- --> ma'nganop, la'yad + mang- --> manla'yad, nga'lat + mang- --> mannga'lat, kan + mang- --> ma'ngan, 'sədong + mang- --> ma'nadong, bid'king + mang- --> mamid'king, ga'yabas + mang- --> mangnga'yabas, yam'yam + mang- --> manyam'yam, wa'nes + mang- --> manwa'nes, meg'meg + mang- --> manmeg'meg.

It is clear that the final nasal of the prefix is ng rather than the cannibal nasal N, because in Kankanaey, unlike some of the other Cordilleran languages,⁵ both the other nasals m and n are stable with respect to assimilation. ka'li + man- --> maka'li (*mangka'li), 'bigaw + man- --> man'bigaw (*mam'bigaw), de'ges + -om- --> dem'ges (*deng'ges).

It is not so clear what happens to the CVng- in the case of the non-sibilant, non-syllabic continuants. There is some support for the hypothesis that when the above continuants occur root-initially, they block affixation with CVng-. That is the interpretation followed by Gieser and Reid in their respective analyses of Kalinga and Bontoc morphophonemics. Presumably, then, in syntactic structures requiring a CVng- affix (e.g., certain verb complements), the verb is forced to accept a different subject-focus affix, such as man-, instead. This solution avoids the unnatural assimilation described in the rule above in which a velar nasal assimilates to the alveolar point of articulation preceding a bilabial (meg'meg) and also preceding another velar (nga'lat), but at the same time, it forces one to the conclusion that phonological entities can block syntactic and semantic rules, a conclusion which I am somewhat leery of accepting at this point. There is, in fact, evidence that phonological sequences are subject to syntactic pressures. The sequences ow, iy and V? never occur within syllable boundaries of unaffixed forms. So it may be assumed that there are phonological restrictions against such occurrences in Kankanaey.⁶ These restrictions, however, are overpowered by the syntactic and semantic pressures of reduplication and glottal infixation (see rule 9), with the result that all three of these sequences do occur in reduplicated forms.

Another example of semantic considerations taking precedence over phonological ones is provided by the articles din and sin. When din follows a word ending in an open syllable, the di of the article is optionally reduced and word space eliminated. mo + din --> mon. When sin occurs in an identical environment, however, it fails to reduce, probably because unacceptable semantic ambiguity would result. Consider, for example, the following two sentences: Ida'wat mo din 'Give my chicken', and Ida'wat mo sin ma'nok ko 'Give it to my chicken'. Were the reduction rule to operate equally upon both din

and sin, the resultant sentence, Ida'wat mon ma'nok ko, would be ambiguous. Consequently, the phonological rule is blocked from applying to sin in order to preserve a semantic distinction.

Other examples could be given to support the contention that phonological rules tend to be modified or restricted by syntactic and semantic pressures rather than vice-versa. (See footnote #3 for an example affecting the stress rule.) But admittedly, such examples can hardly be considered conclusive evidence that in rule 3 as stated above, CVng- is not blocked before non-sibilant, non-syllabic continuants. Fortunately, there is additional supporting evidence from Balangao and Kankanaey that CVng- does indeed occur in said environments. In Balangao, CVng- assimilates to the alveolar point of articulation before n, w, y, or l, as in Kankanaey, but before m or ng, it assimilates to the bilabial and velar points of articulation respectively (Shetler, p. 44). Also, in an unsolicited sample of written Kankanaey text, the author spelled the words manla'yad and man'lipot as mangla'yad and mang'lipot respectively, which would be highly unlikely if the underlying affix were man- rather than mang-.

4. Syncope of V₁. (also commonly referred to as deletion)

Upon infixation or CV- prefixation of any CV.'CV(C) sequence, the initial vowel is syncopeated according to the following pattern.

		V ₂			
		a	e	i	o
V ₁	a	*	*	*	*
	e	X	X	X	
	i	*	*	/	
	o	X	X	X	X

* = no syncope
 X = regular syncope
 / = irregular syncope
 □ = no examples

de'ges + ma- → mad'ges, se'kaw + -om- → som'kaw,
pi'sit + -in- → pin'sit, so'bot + ?i- → ?is'bot.

For example, when the final stem vowel is a, initial stem vowel e regularly syncopeates. When the final stem vowel is i, however, initial vowel i syncopeates irregularly. By irregularly, I do not mean that syncopeation is optional, but rather that it occurs with some roots and not with others. In this case, there are only three roots meeting the structural description of the rule which have the vowel i as the peak of both syllables: pi'sit, ?i'wik, and pi'ngi.⁷ Syncopeation occurs with the first and last roots, but not with the second. pi'sit + na- → nap'sit, pi'sit + -in- → pin'sit, pi'ngi + -om- → pom'ngi, ?i'wik + ?i- → ?i??i'wik, ?i'wik + -in- → ?inni'wik.

At this point I am unable to satisfactorily describe this irregularity, but I suspect that the explanation lies either in surrounding

dialect pressures or historical change or both (see rule 8 for more discussion on historical change). Certainly the exceptions to regular syncope can be largely explained by dialect pressures. Of the ten exceptions,⁸ all but the last two are cognate with Ilocano, which, as the trade language throughout the Kankanaey area, enjoys a high degree of prestige. Inasmuch as Ilocano phonological rules do not permit syncope of the initial vowel for the words in question, it is highly understandable why these words prove exceptions to the syncope rule in Kankanaey. Of the three roots in which syncope occurs contrary to the expected pattern, ka'wani can be accounted for by postulating that the initial a is underlyingly an o, which regularly undergoes syncope. Support for this hypothesis is provided by Bontoc, in which the cognate word is in fact ko'wani. The other two exceptions cannot be accounted for at the present time.

5A. -INOM- --> -INM-.

-inom- --> -inm- / C₁__V

The infix -inom- is reduced to -inm- immediately preceding an initial stem vowel. 'tetek + -inom- --> tin'metek.

5B. ?INI- --> ?IN-.

?ini- --> ?in- / __C₁V

The prefix ?ini- is reduced to ?in- immediately preceding a CV sequence. 'payag + ?ini- --> ?in'payag, de'net + ?ini- --> ?inid'net.

6. Vowel Harmony.

a) -om- --> -em- / #C__e.

b) -(in)om- $\xrightarrow{\text{OPT}}$ -em- / #C__Ce.

a) When -om- is infixed to a stem in which the initial vowel e has not been reduced, the affix vowel harmonizes with the initial vowel. b) When -om- or -inc- is infixed to a stem in which the initial vowel e has been reduced, harmonization does not occur unless V₂ is also e, in which case harmonization is optional. 'bela + -om- --> be'mela, se'lak + -om- --> som'lak, de'ges + -om- --> dem'ges ~ dom'ges.

Two examples of vowel harmony not covered by this rule have been noted, but I consider two examples insufficient grounds for introducing a new rule(s) into the cycle. The examples are as follows: ?ey + ?ipa- --> ?ipe'?ey, '?agew + ka-...-an --> ka?aga'wan.

Note that the previous three rules are all bled by rule 4, syncope of V₁. Whenever the syncope rule applies to a given form, it deletes the very vowel required for the application of the other three rules. It can readily be seen why syncope must precede the other rules in the

rule order. If it followed rule 5B, for example, the initial vowel of de'net would not yet have been reduced, de'net would meet the requirements for the operation of rule 5B, and the resultant form, *?inde'net, would then fail to meet the structural description of the syncope rule.

Similarly, rule 5A bleeds the vowel harmony rule by reducing the o necessary for the application of the rule.

7. Syncope of V_2 .

Upon suffixation of any CV.'CV(C) root, the final vowel of the root is syncopeated according to the following pattern.⁹

		V_1			
		a	e	i	o
V_2	a	*	/	*	*
	e	X	X	X	
	i	*	*	/	*
	o	*			X

* = no syncope
 X = regular syncope
 / = irregular syncope
 □ = no examples

?e'gen + -an → ?eg'nan, le'gab + -an → legga'ban, pe'la + -en → pella'?en, be'ka + -en → bek'?en, bo'sog + -en → bos'gen, li'ked + -en → lik'den.

Notice that this rule is bled by syncope of V_1 . In forms which are both prefixed/infixes and suffixed, deletion of the first vowel effectively blocks deletion of the second vowel, because such deletion would produce an unallowable three-consonant cluster. se'de + ka-...-an → kaade'?an, de'net + ?i-...-an → ?idne'tan, ?e'das + -in-...-an → ?inde'san. Two exceptions have been noted in which syncope of V_2 apparently precedes that of V_1 . although in the first example, only optionally so. ?e'teg + -in-...-an → ?inte'gan ~ ?inet'gan, ?e'sek + -in-...-an → ?ines'kan.

8. Lateral Assimilation.

$l \rightarrow +C / \left[\begin{array}{c} +C \\ +or \\ -sib \end{array} \right] . \text{---} \&$

This rule applies to root-final l when vowel deletion produces a Cl sequence. If the consonant preceding l is +oral, -sibilant, l assimilates to it both in point and manner of articulation.

This rule was added to the cycle in order to account for four roots (de'nge, ke'be, pe'se, te'pe) whose object focus forms could not be satisfactorily derived by the other rules. Three other CV.'CV roots found

in the data, be'ka, de'wa, and ke'na, had object focus forms of bek'?en, dew'?en, and ken'?en, respectively, which forms were correctly derived by rules 1A, 2A, 2B and 7. So one would have expected object focus forms of deng'?en, keb'?en, pes'?en, and tep'?en, respectively, for the previously mentioned four roots. In fact, however, the actual forms are deng'ngen, keb'ben, pes'len, and tep'pen. In order to derive these forms without reference to rule 8, one would have to switch the order of rules 7 and 12, add a glottal deletion rule, and then restrict these changes to apply only to CV'CV roots ending in e. The derivation of deng'ngen would then be as follows (rule name or number is given in parentheses following the form to which it has just applied): de'nge --> de'nggen (1A) --> denge'en (2A) --> denge'?en (2B) --> dengnge'?en (12) --> dengng'?en (7) --> deng'ngen (glottal deletion). Such a solution is, in my estimation, unacceptable, because of the relatively large number of ad hoc adjustments it forces upon the rule cycle to account for only a few forms.

It seems far more reasonable to postulate an underlying final l for the four roots in question, which requires only that a lateral assimilation rule be included in the cycle. Evidence from Bontoc strongly confirms the probably correctness of this hypothesis. All four of the roots in question have Bontoc cognates ending in l; the other three roots mentioned do not. Let us assume, then, that the proto-Kankanaey forms of these four roots had final l. This was gradually assimilated in suffixed forms and deleted elsewhere, until at present, it appears on the surface only in the form pes'len. I make no claims to be a comparative linguist, so I can't argue for the theoretical validity of the above statement. But given an underlying l plus a lateral assimilation rule, we can in fact account for the otherwise unexpected object focus forms of these roots, and we can do so without unduly violating the rest of the rule cycle.

9. Semi-vowel Replacement.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [w] \\ [y] \end{array} \right\} \longrightarrow \text{-or} / \# \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [-\text{syl}] \\ [+or] \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [o] \\ [i] \end{array} \right\} \longrightarrow .\&[-or]\&$$

$$\overline{\text{OPT}} \longrightarrow \text{-or} / \# C_1 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [o] \\ [i] \end{array} \right\} \longrightarrow .\&C_1$$

When glottal infixation results in a sequence of ow or iy within the same syllable of a root with initial oral consonant, the semi-vowel is replaced by glottal. When one of the above sequences is formed as a result of reduplication, replacement of the semi-vowel is optional, dependent on semantic considerations. When the semantic script calls for present continuing action, the semi-vowel is retained. When comparison or potential action is in view, it is replaced by glottal, which is subsequently metathesized or assimilated (see rule 10).

magiy'giyeng 'spinning', magig'?iyeng 'spinning faster';
komiyki'yang 'striding along', komik'i'yang 'walking with longer strides';

masowso'wat 'tipping downward', masos'o'wat 'liable to tip'. Notice that according to the rule, semi-vowel replacement does not occur on roots with initial glottal. man'o'owas ('owas), ?iy?i'yogtan (?i'yogtan).

10. Glottal Metathesis or Assimilation.

- a)
$$\frac{[-or]}{1} \frac{\begin{bmatrix} +or \\ -syl \end{bmatrix}}{2} \longrightarrow 2 \quad 1 / \text{---} \begin{bmatrix} +syl \\ -syl \end{bmatrix}$$
- b)
$$\begin{bmatrix} -or \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +or \\ +C \end{bmatrix} / \text{---} \begin{bmatrix} +or \\ +C \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +syl \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} -or \end{bmatrix}$$

Kankanaey does not permit a sequence of glottal and oral consonant. When the operation of morphophonemic rules results in such a sequence, the glottal a) metathesizes with the following consonant if the consonant following the next vowel is +oral, and b) assimilates to the following consonant if the consonant following the next vowel is -oral.

This is the last rule of the cycle. If a form then undergoes stem reduplication, it is directed back to rule 2A for another pass through the cycle. If not, it proceeds to the post-cyclical rule, gemination.

11. Stem Reduplication.

As defined previously in the paper, this type of reduplication functions as a late spelling rule. It will be noted in the sample derivations which follow that in some cases, stem reduplication is the last step in the derivation of a particular form. That is, although the reduplicated form is automatically directed back to the beginning of the rule cycle, it gets a free ride, so to speak, as it fails to meet the structural descriptions of any further rules (see sample derivations 3, 5, and 9). In other cases, reduplication serves to feed rules which did not apply to a form its first time through the cycle (see derivations 8, 11, and 12).

12. Gemination.

$$\emptyset \rightarrow +C / V+C \text{---} V.C'V(C)$$

Upon affixation or reduplication other than $C_1V_1C_2V_2$, the intervocalic consonant of the pre-stress syllable geminates.

ge'tad + -en → getta'den, ta'ked + -in- → tinna'ked, ta'pi + ?i- → ?itta'pi, ta'dem + -om- → tomma'dem, ba'ga + ?i-...-an → ?ibagga'?an, to'led + na- → natto'led, ?a + na- + CV → na??a'?a, 'lowa + man- + $C_1V_1C_1V_1$ → manlollo'lowa.

Apart from being blocked by the reduplication-produced pattern $C_1V_1C_2V_2$,¹⁰ gemination is a phonological rather than a morphological

rule, applying without regard to morpheme boundaries or to the identity of particular morphemes. Because it occurs post-cyclically, applying to the final output of the other rules, no rule ever follows this one.

The implications of the gemination rule for a practical orthography are not yet clear, as results from orthography preference surveys have thus far been inconclusive. When asked to write from dictation words containing a geminate cluster (morphophonemically-produced), a majority of testees wrote the words with a single consonant only, e.g., ?ita'pi rather than ?itta'pi. In multiple-choice portions of the survey, however, in which testees were asked to choose what they considered the most correct spelling, a clear majority indicated the choice with the geminate consonant. Reading portions of the survey were also inconclusive, varying according to the reading ability of the testees. Slower readers tended to repeat themselves on words in which the geminate cluster had been written with a single consonant, stressing the wrong syllable the first time through, and then, realizing what the word was, pronouncing it correctly the second time. Faster readers seemed to have no trouble. This is probably due to the fact that stress, although phonemic, is not written, and thus slower readers who read syllable by syllable, have trouble knowing where to pronounce stress without the presence of the geminate consonant. When the gemination is written, however, the intimate relation between it and stress helps the reader pronounce correctly. More testing will obviously need to be done in this area, but for now, gemination is being written as an aid to slower readers, especially since it doesn't seem to hinder fluent readers.

II. SAMPLE DERIVATIONS

The sample derivations which follow demonstrate how the rule cycle operates. Preceding each derivation is a summary of the morpheme input (to the left of the arrow), the morphophonemic output (to the right of the arrow), the numbers of the rules that apply in the derivation, and a brief gloss of the root. When a rule applies, the resultant form is written in and the rule identified to the right. Rules that are blocked or do not apply are marked ____, with the exception of rule 1B, which applies in none of the derivations, and so is not marked at all.

1. be'ka + -en --> bek'?en (1A,2A,2B,7) 'to dig camote'

<u>be'kaen</u>	1A, affixation
<u>beka'en</u>	2A, stress shift
<u>beka'?en</u>	2B, glottal insertion
	3-6
<u>bek'?en</u>	7, syncope of V ₂ , fed by rule 2A.

2. ke'bel + -en --> keb'ben (1A,2A,7,8) 'to wet'

<u>ke'belen</u>	1A, affixation
<u>kebe'len</u>	2A, stress shift
	2B-6
<u>keb'len</u>	7, syncope of V ₂ , feeds rule 8
<u>keb'ben</u>	8, lateral assimilation

3. de'pap + mang- + CVC --> manman'pap (1A,3,4,11) 'to catch'
mangde'pap 1A, affixation
 2
mande'pap 3a, assimilation
mane'pap 3b, reduction
man'pap 4, syncope of V₁, fed by 3b
 5-10
manman'pap 11, stem reduplication
4. pe'se + -inom- --> pinem'se (1A,4,6) 'to kill'
pinome'se 1A, affixation
 2-3
pinom'se 4, syncope of V₁, bleeds 5A
 5
pinem'se 6, vowel harmony
 An optional output for this derivation is pinom'se.
5. ke'neg + -om- + CVC --> kemkem'neg (1A,4,6,11) 'to become firm'
kome'neg 1A, affixation
 2-3
kom'neg 4, syncope of V₁
 5
kem'neg 6, vowel harmony
 7-10
kemkem'neg 11, stem reduplication
6. da'wat + ?ini-...-an --> ?indaw'tan (1A,2A,5B,7) 'to give'
?inida'watan 1A, affixation
?inidawa'tan 2A, stress shift
 2B-5A
?indawa'tan 5B, ?ini- -- ?in-
 6
?indaw'tan 7, syncope of V₂
7. ?e'sek + na-...-an --> nas'e'kan (1A,2A,4,10) 'to plant'
na'e'sekan 1A, affixation
na'ese'kan 2A, stress shift
 2B-3
na'se'kan 4, syncope of V₁, blocks 7
 5-9
nas'e'kan 10, glottal metathesis
8. ?om + ka- + CVC --> kak'ka?om (1A,2A,11,10) 'to become ripe'
ka'?om 1A, affixation
'ka?om 2A, stress shift
 2B-10
ka?'ka?om 11, stem reduplication, return to rule 2A
 2A-9
kak'ka?om 10, glottal assimilation

9. se'?ed + -en + CVCVC --> sed?esed'?en (1A,2A,7,10,11) 'to wait for'
se'?eden 1A, affixation
se?e'den 2A, stress shift, feeds 7
 2B-6
se?'den 7, syncope of V₂, feeds 10
 8-9
sed'?en 10, glottal metathesis
sed?esed'?en 11, stem reduplication
10. 'siyek + -an + CV --> sissi'yekan (1A,2A,11,12) 'to laugh at'
'siyekan 1A, affixation
si'yekan 2A, stress shift
 2B-10
sisi'yekan 11, stem reduplication, return to 2A
 2A-11
sissi'yekan 12, gemination
11. 'siyek + -an + CVC --> sis?i'yekan (1A,2A,11,9,10) 'to laugh at'
'siyekan 1A, affixation
si'yekan 2A, stress shift
 2B-9
siysi'yekan 11, stem reduplication, return to 2A. This form is an optional final output, depending on semantic considerations.
 2A-8
si?si'yekan 9, semi-vowel replacement
sis?i'yekan 10, glottal metathesis
12. si'yam + -? + CVC --> sissi?'?am (1A,9,11,10) 'nine'
siy'?am 1A, affixation, feeds 9
 2A-8
si?'?am 9, semi-vowel replacement
 10
si?si?'?am 11, stem reduplication, return to 2A
 2A-9
sissi?'?am 10, glottal assimilation

III. CONCLUSION

There are a number of other morphophonemic processes in Kankanaey, which occur between word junctures. I have chosen not to include the rules describing them in this paper, because they are unordered with respect to the rules described above and have no bearing on the relationship of reduplication to morphophonemic rules.

Attention should be drawn at this point to the relatively few times the rules were required to operate cyclically. Of the twelve derivations given above, only three required a second pass through the cycle in order to complete the derivation, and as has already been mentioned, no rule was required to apply more than once, even with two passes

through the cycle. Had reduplication not been included in the scope of this paper, it would have been possible to account for the morphophonemic changes described herein by means of linearly ordered rules alone, quite apart from any cyclical application. Thus, the importance of the cycle should not be stressed unduly.

At the same time, I trust that the need for considering reduplication in any morphophonemic analysis has been made sufficiently clear. Given agreement on that point, cyclical ordered rules provide a relatively efficient, uncomplicated means of deriving any form in the language.

FOOTNOTES

¹Kankanaey is a Nuclear Cordilleran language closely related to Bontoc and Balangao, spoken by approximately 100,000 people. This description of Kankanaey morphophonemics is based on the dialect of the approximately 2,000 people living in Kibungan Central, Benguet Province. The phonemes of Kankanaey along with their distinctive feature representations are given in the table below taken from Allen, 1975.

	b	d	g	p	t	k	ʔ	m	n	ng	s	l	w	y	i	e	a	o		
syllabic (syl)															-	-	+	+	+	+
continuant (con)	-	-	-	-	-	-		+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+
acute (ac)	-	+	-	-	+	-		-	+	-					-	+	+	-	-	-
back (bk)	-	-	+	-	-	+		-	-	+					+	-	-	-	-	+
low (low)																-	-	+	-	
voiced (vd)	+	+	+	-	-	-														
oral (or)	+	+	+	+	+	+	-													
nasal (nas)								+	+	+										
lateral (lat)													+							
sibilant (sib)														+						

²I wish to give Austin Hale full credit for suggesting the possibility of a rule cycle and for his invaluable consultant help in arranging the rules within the cycle to the best advantage.

³Forms derived with the nominalizing suffix *-an* are irregular with respect to both stress shift and gemination. *belʔay* + *-an* → *belʔaʔyan* 'yard', *teʔdek* + *-an* + CVC → *tedteʔdekkan* 'index finger', *ʔgawa* + *-an* → *gawaʔan* 'middle finger', *ʔgading* + *-an* → *gadingʔngan*

'wrist', 'losong + -an → losso'ngan 'mortar'. When the above roots are affixed with an inflectional suffix, however, stress shift occurs according to the rule.

⁴ Exceptions that have been noted are: ?eg'yat + -en → ?egya'ten, ?it'ling + na-...-an, → na?itli'ngan, sa'wit + -an → sa'witan, 'mongsan + -en → mongsan'en, ?am'mo + -en → ?ammo'?en, ?an'do + pa-...-en → pa?ando'?en, kan + -en → ka'nen. The last exception can be accounted for by postulating a root with the underlying form ?e'kan, which is, in fact, the cognate root in Keley-i, a related Cordilleran language. (See L. Hohulin and Kanstowicz for a description of Keley-i generative rules.)

⁵ In Kalinga, Ibaloi, and Balangao, alveolar nasal assimilates to the point of articulation of following bilabial or velar stops, and in Balangao, bilabial nasal assimilates to the point of articulation of following velars (Gieser, p. 57; Ballard, p. 15; Shetler, p. 41).

⁶ Similar restrictions have been noted in Kalinga and Balangao. Gieser states that "in Guininaang phonology *iy cannot occur as peak and coda of the same syllable" (p. 57), while Shetler notes, "o/u and w do not occur in the same syllable. Also, i and y do not occur in the same syllable except across morpheme boundaries" (p. 20).

⁷ These three roots were gleaned from a corpus of over 3000 roots, including several hundred pages of text.

⁸ Roots which failed to undergo regular syncope of V_1 as expected were: lo'wam, so'kat, lo'kay, to'wang, to'led, lo'git, bo'yok, ko'lot, bo'nong, ?o'yod. Roots which underwent syncope contrary to expectation were: ka'wani, la'?em, and ?i'kat.

⁹ Roots which failed to undergo regular syncope of V_2 as expected were: da'key, ?o'yod, to'kop, and ?o'mong. Of these four, however, the last three optionally syncope, and the last two are cognate with Ilocano. Roots which underwent syncope contrary to expectation were: la'bas, la'mat, and ba'ga, but in the case of the last two roots, the syncope was optional, and with the last root, the form in question was a noun, bag'?en baga'?en 'slave'.

¹⁰ Examples of this pattern, with the root given in parentheses, are as follows: siyesi'yekan ('siyek), mandowado'wa (do'wa), dinmegede'ges (de'ges), ?i?alo'alos ('?alos), kataweta'wen (ta'wen).

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